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Let Us Thoroughly Smash the Imperialists' Frenzied Anti-Socialist Commotions

*SK0409103089 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 3-9*

[Text] Modern history is the history of a fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism and imperialism. Ever since socialism emerged in the history of mankind, imperialism has not stopped its antisocialist maneuvers even for a moment.

However, the victor in the struggle between socialism and imperialism has always been socialism, which represents something new. Even though the imperialists have always kicked up vicious antisocialist maneuvers, socialism has developed into a world-class system, and its banner has been firmly defended in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Africa.

At present, taking advantage of the complicated situation, which has been promoted, the imperialists are launching "crusades" to obliterate socialism. The U.S. imperialists are not only turning South Korea into a nuclear military base but also kicking up all sorts of maneuvers to turn South Korea into an antisocialist economic and political base and to display the "superiority" of capitalism by using the Japanese, the imperialists, and other reactionaries of the world. Despite the imperialists' frenzied maneuvers, socialism is vigorously marching on the worldwide domain, and the most advanced socialist system, which has been established on the northern half of the Republic, is fully displaying the invincible might of socialism.

The reality again confirms the truth that the road toward socialism and communist victory is not smooth and that it can only be cultivated by a fierce struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Today, while the imperialists' antisocialist commotions are becoming graver with each day, presented to the communists and revolutionaries is the sacred task of, without forgetting the blood lesson from the forerunners of the era and fallen revolutionaries, more firmly adhering to the revolutionary banner of socialism in a showdown against imperialism.

Kicking up antisocialist commotions is the nature of the imperialists. There exists no imperialist society in this world that does not kick up maneuvers against socialism, and imperialism will not stop kicking up antisocialist commotions until it perishes.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Workers' Party of Korea Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee, has pointed out:

By nature, the more serious a crisis it faces, the more reactionary and aggressive imperialism tends to become and the more desperate efforts it tends to make to maintain its existence.¹

Socialism is a major force that threatens the existence of imperialism. The more energetically socialism exists and the further its might is strengthened, the greater the danger the imperialists will feel their existence faces and the more desperate their methods will become to crush the fortress of socialism. The imperialists' antisocialist commotions are a direct result of the awareness of a crisis by those who are dying.

The closer their destruction becomes and the more vividly they are conscious of a crisis, the graver and more desperate the imperialists' antisocialist commotions will become.

The U.S. imperialists, who acquired absolute economic and military superiority in the capitalist world after World War II, mobilized other imperialists in perpetrating aggression maneuvers to crush growing socialist forces. However, the imperialists' maneuvers of using military threats and economic blockades were thoroughly crushed by the high revolutionary spirits and united strength of the people of the socialist countries who, while firmly maintaining their sovereignty, had risen up to build a new society. Also, the imperialists later kicked up desperate maneuvers to bring to their knees the people of the socialist countries by militarily threatening and blackmailing them, economically subjugating them, and crushing them on ideological and cultural terms. Taking advantage of the fact that in international relations, a phase for detente is being gradually opened and that contacts and exchanges are taking place more actively, the imperialists are perpetrating more cunning and desperate antisocialist maneuvers.

Today, the imperialists' antisocialist commotions, which have come to appear as concrete reflections of a serious class conflict, class struggle between socialism and capitalism, have become very grave. The imperialist "politicians" and "strategists" are kicking up commotions to the utmost to slander and smear socialism and to weaken its tractive force.

The antisocialist commotions, which have intensified in the present era, are the products of the serious political and economic crisis facing the imperialists.

The more serious the crisis imperialism is faced with, the more desperate it becomes. The imperialists' desperate maneuvers are not the manifestation of the imperialists' strength but that of their weakness.

A series of change took place in the capitalist world after World War II due to rapid progress in production and technology. However, fundamental contradictions in capitalism could not be resolved. As the imperialists stepped up their neocolonial exploitation and plunders and as the developing countries had their limits in serving as markets for their goods and as countries where they could pour their capital, the developed capitalist countries faced greater difficulties in finding markets for their goods. At present, the developed capitalist countries are waging a serious struggle to restrict each other's

production. Even though technological development has been achieved, as restrictions are imposed upon production, the ranks of the unemployed are getting bloated and the inflation of currency cannot be stopped. A crisis facing capitalism is clearly shown in the fact that the U.S. imperialists, the head of imperialism in the world, are facing greater difficulties as time goes by. The United States has not only been faced with the common crisis facing the capitalist powers today but has also fallen into a difficult situation because it has been gradually deprived of a position that it had taken in the capitalist world. In the 1980's, in the United States, the rate of the increase of the debt on the state level far surpassed that of the economic growth; the debt amounted to no fewer than approximately \$2.7 trillion; the trade deficit amounted to no fewer than \$171.2 billion in 1987; and the foreign debt amounted to approximately \$500 billion in 1988. As a result, the United States at last degraded into becoming the biggest debtor country in the world from the biggest creditor country. A symbol of the economic decline of U.S. economic strength, this shows that the U.S. economy is struggling amid an inescapable catastrophe.

Modern imperialism has its own serious contradictions and cannot escape from its destruction. Capitalist society is a society where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer and is a society in which the people's material life is distorted to the utmost. In this society, the people are leading a very poor spiritual and cultural life and a reactionary political life. Even though, today, \$2 billion are daily spent as military expenditures, 2 billion people are leading a poor and unhygienic life. Because inequality and imbalance are aggravated in the capitalist world and because the reactionary and anti-popular nature of imperialism becomes serious, conflicts between the popular masses, who strongly want to live and develop independently, and the capitalist class have been further intensified, and capitalism is rushing along a road toward destruction.

Modern imperialism, which is being led down a blind alley at home and abroad as such, is further stepping up the offensive against socialism more than ever before in order to find a way out from the crisis of destruction. The imperialists' antisocialist commotions are nothing but last-ditch efforts by those who are dying.

The imperialists' antisocialist commotions at present are all the more shameless in that they are using the temporary obstacles and difficulties, which socialism faces on its way to progress, to demonstrate the "superiority" of capitalism.

The birth of something new and its victory must always undergo labor pains.

Socialist countries had to overcome a series of difficulties in the course of pioneering a new unexplored road. Because the people of socialist countries repelled all sorts of maneuvers of imperialism and vigorously accelerated socialist construction, they attained great success in

economic construction, let alone in the fields of their political, ideological, and cultural life. No doubt, people in the socialist countries in the past committed leftist and rightist tiltings in managing and operating the socialist system as they lacked sufficient experience and were not well prepared politically and ideologically. These tiltings and difficulties came in the course of progress, and they had nothing to do with the fundamental nature of the socialist system.

Nevertheless, the imperialists and their patronized trumpeters would not see the fundamental superiority of socialism but, exaggerating the difficulties faced in socialist countries, they are using them as an excuse for finding fault with socialism, weakening its driving force, and praising the capitalist system. Under this condition, unless we crush the imperialists' antisocialist commotions, we cannot win the showdown with imperialism, nor can we adhere to the revolutionary banner of socialism to the end. All the antisocialist commotions by the imperialists are doomed to fail since they are based on something obsolete, which has been forsaken and is on the way to destruction in the course of the historical development of mankind.

All the maneuvers of the imperialists against socialism at present, while being connected with their antisocialist commotions in the past, have a series of characteristic features.

The characteristic features of the imperialists' antisocialist commotions are that they are bent on the political and ideological offensive more than ever before to cause damage to the socialist system, while continuously stepping up their military aggression maneuvers.

The imperialists, since the first socialist country was founded, have always made it their basic antisocialist strategy to combine the military strategy and political and ideological, destructive maneuvers.

However, with a change in the situation and in the power relations between the revolutionary forces and the antirevolutionary forces, a series of alterations have been seen in the imperialists' antisocialist strategy. During the Cold War era, the imperialists placed their greatest emphasis on the military aggression maneuvers, while conducting political and ideological, destructive maneuvers against socialist countries. Now that the might of socialism has been strengthened and the policy of strength aimed at gaining supremacy over socialist countries militarily is in fact no longer workable, the imperialists are resorting to all means to distort the superiority of socialism and to vilify socialism.

The imperialists are taking advantage of the trend of detente and reconciliation to modernize their aggressive armed forces and to continuously build up arms. The imperialists' arms-buildup maneuvers are aimed at realizing their ambition to overwhelm, threaten, and intimidate socialist countries militarily and, further, to dominate the world by securing a "superiority of strength." They are making efforts to describe socialism as lacking

in "vitality" and are vilifying the socialist political system and socialist democracy. The imperialists are even maneuvering to instigate the internal impure elements to demolish socialist countries from within. They are persistently engaging in fabricating an abnormal condition by instigating the hostile elements and are attempting to create confusion inside socialist countries by inoculating them with the "freedom wind". The imperialists' malicious vilifications and destruction and demolition maneuvers are aimed at blurring the image of socialism, obliterating the driving force of socialism, and, further, "liquidating" the socialist system itself.

The imperialists' vilifications against socialism are closely connected with their illusory idea to demonstrate the "superiority" of the capitalist system.

While stepping up their offensive against socialism, the imperialists are making a major effort to praise the "superiority" of their repugnant capitalist system. There has never been a time when the imperialists made such an effort to find fault with socialism and to embellish their system as today.

The maneuvers of the imperialists to vilify socialism and praise the capitalist system to the skies are the manifestation of the sense of crisis of those who are captivated by the historical fact that socialism is ever-victorious, and they are the last-ditch efforts of those in their death throes.

The distinct feature of the imperialists' political and ideological demolition maneuvers is that their ideological and cultural infiltration against socialist countries has been intensified in an unprecedented manner.

Infiltrating the corrupt, reactionary, and bourgeois ideology and culture into the people of socialist countries is an important part of the imperialists' antisocialist maneuvers. By infiltrating the reactionary bourgeois ideology and culture, the imperialists are attempting to implant the anticommunist and antisocialist ideological toxin in the people to paralyze their anti-imperialist and revolutionary consciousness and demolish the socialist system from within.

To this end, the imperialists and all other sorts of reactionaries are preaching the so-called "superiority" of bourgeois freedom and democracy using various types of propaganda institutions and publications of an enormous scale, spreading the obscene Yankee culture and American way of life. By so doing, they implant in people an extreme individual and selfish idea, a money-is-omnipotent idea, and immorality, attempting to destroy the sound foundation of socialist life little by little from within and to create a fantasy about the Western world and a trend of Westernization.

We should cope with the imperialists' ideological and cultural offensive with high vigilance. If we let the infiltration of the imperialists' reactionary ideology and culture go unchecked, people will become spiritually handicapped and we will be unable to develop our

unique national culture and to establish a sound socialist way of life. The experience and lessons learned in the communist movement show well the grave consequences and the dear price that we will have to pay if we fail to positively cope with the imperialists' reactionary ideological and cultural offensive.

Another characteristic feature of the imperialists' anti-socialist commotions at present is that they are distorting the economic life in socialist countries, thereby conducting maneuvers to economically subjugate them.

The imperialists are today engaged in a cunning "double tactic" to bring the people of socialist countries to their knees, holding nuclear weapons in one hand and luring them with a bagful of money in the other hand.

The antisocialist commotions the imperialists conduct in the field of economic life are as vicious as their military aggression maneuvers and political and ideological demolition maneuvers.

When the economy of socialist countries was not strong enough, the imperialists conducted all sorts of maneuvers attempting to economically suffocate these countries, staging such commotions as economic blockade. However, socialist countries developed the economic might of the country to a high level on their own in a short period of time based on the great superiority of the socialist economic system, thereby successfully repelling all sorts of economic pressure from the imperialists. Today, socialist countries share over 40 percent of the world's industrial output.

When the economic blockade maneuvers failed, the imperialists employed maneuvers to economically subjugate socialist countries by such tactics as "aid" and "cooperation." However, these maneuvers for economic infiltration were destined to fail due to the power of the highly vigilant people of socialist countries.

Instead of drawing a lesson from such a failure, the imperialists are not even stopping for a moment in their maneuvers to make economic inroads into socialist countries.

While belittling the economic systems of the socialist countries, the imperialists are advertising that the socialist economy is so inefficient and so inactive that it cannot not make any progress in developing science, technology, or productivity. Historic facts, however, clearly show that the socialist countries that inherited backward economies and technology have not only overcome them in a very short period of time, but have also attained economic, scientific, and technological progress, progress that took other capitalist countries hundreds of years to achieve, and that they have laid firm foundations for quickening the pace of development in the future.

Another characteristic of the imperialists' current anti-socialist commotions is that they are intensifying their scheme to divide, subvert, and destroy the socialist countries one by one.

It is the hackneyed trick of the imperialists to destroy the socialist countries one by one by, weaning one away from the other. The imperialists have wickedly adhered to such a trick since the end of World War II.

In particular, whenever there was a movement toward detente, the imperialists converged their efforts on a strategy to wean one socialist country away from another. At the outset of the 1960's, when the cold war situation was moving toward detente, the imperialists, clinging to such a strategy, intensified their military aggression against and slandering of a series of socialist countries, without worsening their relationships with big countries. Today, when a phase of detente is opening in the international situation, the same phenomenon is once again evident.

Struggling to depict nonexistent facts, which are the product of their own wishful thinking, as if they were reality, the imperialists are now running amok in their effort to drive various wedges in relations between the big and small countries. Claiming to be improving relations with big countries, these imperialists are now subjecting small countries, particularly countries that are advancing under the revolutionary banner in the forefront of socialism, to a more reviling attack. Such maneuvers of the imperialists are not accidental; the revolutionary countries that are firmly defending their anti-imperialist stand and adhering to the banner of socialism have an enormous impact on the people of the world.

The socialist countries should always remain vigilant against the alienation maneuvers of the imperialists and should not allow any one among them to pursue only national interests or behave in a way that hurts other socialist countries and the interests of the socialist cause as a whole.

All this shows that the aggressive and plundering nature of the imperialists can never be changed under any circumstances and that the imperialists' antisocialist maneuvers are becoming more wicked rather than weakened.

The imperialists can never stand in the way of the victorious advancement and development of socialism, no matter how crafty and insidious the maneuvers they employ may be. Attempting to stop socialism from developing and to bring it back on the capitalist path is anti-historic and antipopular. It is also nothing but a stupid and anachronistic foolish illusion. Only when it advances along the path to socialism can mankind realize brilliantly its ideal to live peacefully and independently.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: We will strongly struggle to safeguard and defend socialism

against all forms of attack and denunciation by the imperialists and reactionaries under the proud banner of socialism and will firmly safeguard peace and the East post of socialism.²

Today, when the imperialists are frantically kicking up the antisocialist commotions, it is our sacred duty to continuously struggle to safeguard and defend the revolutionary banner of socialism and to more firmly demonstrate the superiority of socialism.

Despite difficult circumstances, in which the imperialists are indulging in bravado and bluster and launching an overall offensive against the socialists, we will invariably safeguard the revolutionary banner of socialism in the future, too, as in the past, and will fully demonstrate the might of socialism.

In order to thoroughly frustrate the imperialists' antisocialist commotions, one should, above all, correctly realize the superiority of socialism over imperialism and should cherish a firm conviction in inevitable downfall of modern imperialists.

The correct awareness of the superiority of socialism has been raised as a particularly important issue at a time when the spearhead of the imperialists' antisocialist maneuvers is being directed at damaging the socialist system.

The basis for realizing the superiority of the socialist system is to correctly understand the intrinsic superiority of socialism.

Today the imperialists are running amok to embellish and decorate capitalism, while defaming and slandering socialism. However, the capitalist society is a society of an exploiting class, ruled by capitalist class, and the socialist society is a genuine popular society, in which all people live an equal and rewarding life as the masters of the nation and society. This is a solemn reality, which cannot be refuted by anything. The basic superiority of socialism over capitalism is that the socialist society is a society that extensively embodies the essential demand of social men to live and develop their lives independently, creatively, and equally. In the socialist society, in which the popular masses have become the masters, all people can enjoy sound material lives, rich ideological and cultural lives, and independent political lives. With such a superiority, the socialist society is a sound and lively society, in which the people's creative lives are invigorated, and is a hopeful society, in which the people are ceaselessly advancing toward the bright future.

Only when one realizes the essential superiority of socialism, can one fulfill one's responsibility in the sacred struggle to glorify the socialist system by cherishing the firm belief and lofty pride in socialism and firmly defend the banner of socialism against various maneuvers and challenges of the imperialists. Today, when the imperialists' maneuvers are becoming graver with each passing day, we should advance by more

highly upholding the banner of socialism—the revolutionary banner—and should victoriously pioneer the unexplored path of socialism and communism by thoroughly frustrating the imperialists' antisocialist commotions. It is inevitable that the imperialists will perish and the socialists will win the victory. Only when one correctly realizes the superiority of socialism and deeply understands the inevitability of the imperialists' downfall, can he firmly adhere to the revolutionary position against the imperialists and successfully crush the antisocialist commotions perpetrated by the modern imperialists.

We should clearly look at the true nature of the modern imperialists, who are carrying out a last-ditch fight, while indulging in bravado and bluster in their final moments, and should have the firm conviction in the inevitability of their downfall.

It is decisively important to fully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system by vigorously accelerating the socialist construction under the banner of the three revolutions—ideological, technological, and cultural—so that the imperialists' antisocialist commotions can be thoroughly smashed.

The superiority of the socialist system will not be demonstrated by itself, but will be highly displayed only by the persistent struggle of the popular masses.

The socialist construction is the historic cause to liquidate the exploiting system and remnants of the outdated society that has lasted for several thousand years and to build a new society for the people. Thus, such a cause cannot be easily achieved, without any difficulty or vicissitudes. By cherishing the unwavering belief that if all the people struggle in firm unity under the leadership of the party to successfully carry out the cause of socialist construction, there will be nothing that they cannot attain, we should courageously break through various difficulties and trials and should demonstrate the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, thus ceaselessly effecting advance and innovations.

Under circumstances in which the imperialists are maliciously advertising that socialism is incapable of displaying its superiority in developing such areas as economy, science, and technology, it is particularly urgent to vigorously accelerate the socialist economy.

In order to energetically push ahead with socialist economic construction, it is imperative to lay a firm material and technological foundation for self-reliant socialism and communism, to rapidly develop science and technology, and improve the guidance and management over the economy without interruption in a way that suits the demand of the developing reality, so as to keep the high speed of economic growth firmly in place.

In order to smash the imperialists' antisocialist maneuvers, it is important to realize a firm and unwavering unity in the socialist forces that form the driving force behind the anti-imperialist struggle.

At present, the socialist forces are matchlessly more powerful than the imperialist forces. The question is how the socialist forces can struggle in unity.

It is an unchanging truth that unity is a crucial element of a revolutionary victory. Moreover, under circumstances in which the imperialists set themselves against socialism in collusion with their united strength, it is very urgent for the world socialist forces to struggle in unity.

The socialist countries have a proud tradition of having fought in strong unity under the banner of the proletarian internationalism for the defense of their revolutionary stand. All socialist countries, inheriting such a tradition, should firmly unite with each other to strongly defend their anti-imperialist stand on the basis of a comradely relationship of mutual support and cooperation and to firmly guarantee the smashing of the imperialists' antisocialist commotions and to realize the victory of peace and the socialist cause.

In the future, as in the past, our party will actively struggle to strengthen unity with all the socialist countries under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism.

A decisive guarantee for smashing the imperialists' antisocialist commotions and for realizing the victory of the socialist cause lies in endlessly strengthening the leadership role of the working class over the revolutionary struggle and construction projects.

The party of the working class is a guiding force in the proletarian dictatorial system. Only when the party is strengthened and its leadership role is enhanced without let-up, can it successfully carry out the work of remodeling nature and society and be triumphant in struggles against the enemy. Instead of weakening it, the party's leadership should be strengthened in accordance with the progress in socialist and communist construction.

The party of the working class, which leads socialist construction, should, as a matter of course, firmly organize the driving force behind the revolution by improving and strengthening its party work and should concentrate all efforts on enhancing its role.

The party's leadership can be realized through the activities of the party organizations at all levels.

All party organizations should lay the groundwork for the organizational and political work designed to further cement the independent driving force behind the revolution and to stir up our people endlessly faithful to the party and leader in the continued renovation and continued progress. In this way, we should achieve a crucial victory in the struggle to completely smash the ideological and cultural infiltration of the imperialists and to make the superiority of the socialist system shine.

All the functionaries, party members, and working people should hasten the final victory of the socialist cause, the revolutionary cause of *chuche*, by smashing all forms of imperialist maneuvers in rock-firm unity around the party and leader.

Footnotes

1. Kim Chong-il: "Let Us March Forward Dynamically Along the Road of Socialism and Communism Under

the Unfurled Banner of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle," p 13.

2. Kim Il-song: published version of 1989 New Year's Address, p 15.

The Independent Political Life Enjoyed by the Masses of the People Is the Outstanding Superiority of Our Country's Socialist System

00000000 *Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean*
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[Chi Chang-ik; article not translated]

The Revolutionary Outlook on the Masses and the Functionaries' Working Styles

41090013a *Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean*
No 7, Jul 89 pp 16-21

[Article by Kim Se-un]

[Text] Today our party is demanding that all functionaries improve their work method with the right revolutionary mass viewpoint to suit the demands of the developing realities in which the cause of converting the whole society to the *chuche* ideology is vigorously being pushed forward at a new, higher stage.

For functionaries to thoroughly maintain the revolutionary mass viewpoint and establish the people-oriented revolutionary work method offers a firm guarantee for upgrading the militancy of the party and successfully accomplishing the revolutionary struggle and construction tasks.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"We should exert great efforts to master the revolutionary work method with the right revolutionary mass viewpoint."¹

Generally, the mass viewpoint is a view and viewpoint on the position and role the masses of people occupy and play in the development of social history and an attitude and stand toward the masses. In other words, the revolutionary mass viewpoint is the viewpoint and stand of serving the masses, regarding them as the masters of the revolution, and making revolution with trust reposed in the inexhaustible energies of the masses and with reliance on their efforts.

The revolutionary mass viewpoint enables functionaries to have the right view and viewpoint on the position and role of the masses in the revolution and construction and thus to establish the people-oriented revolutionary work method among them.

The mass viewpoint is the starting point in defining the work method of functionaries and the ideological and mental source of the scientific character, revolutionary quality, and invincible vitality of the work method.

To begin with, inasmuch as the work method is a concrete method and a magic hand for organizing and mobilizing the masses in the revolution and construction, its substance and character are defined according to

the outlook on life on which it is based, particularly its viewpoint of the masses. Therefore, on what kind of mass viewpoint the work method is based is the touchstone by which to test the right or wrong of the method and constitutes the basic factor in defining the nature and characteristics of the method.

Functionaries will be able to practice the people-oriented revolutionary work method when they have the right viewpoint on the masses. On the other hand, when they cannot do away with the outmoded work attitude of ignoring the masses, they will tend to wield their party power and practice bureaucratism while regarding themselves as a special existence standing above the masses, and in the end bring about the grave consequence of alienating the party from the masses and weakening the revolutionary fervor and creative positiveness of the masses. Establishing the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint arises as a particularly important problem for the party in power. The party in power, because it has power, is prone to show the tendency among functionaries to operate by the bureaucratic method of issuing orders and instructions with reliance on power rather than on the masses. The revolution has come a long way and shift in generation has been under way, with the new generation taking the place of the older generation in the ranks of functionaries to a considerable degree. Particularly under these circumstances, the phenomenon of alienating oneself from the masses and practicing bureaucratism and flaunting party power may arise among some of the new generation who are not firmly armed with the revolutionary mass viewpoint and who lack the experience of working with the masses in difficult conditions. Therefore, the working-class party should exert great efforts to make its functionaries oppose the outmoded work methods and master the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

To correctly establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint is an important guarantee for establishing the people-oriented revolutionary work method among functionaries.

The revolutionary mass viewpoint makes it possible above all to establish among functionaries a work method by which to have the masses participate in the revolution and construction as befitting the master by constantly enhancing their position and role.

The work method of functionaries can be genuine only when it can lead the masses to firmly maintain their position as masters and play their role as masters, with a high sense of being the masters of the revolution.

The masses are at once the masters and the driving force of the revolution and construction. The revolution is an undertaking for the masses and of the masses. The revolution and construction can proceed triumphantly only when the masses themselves, its masters, voluntarily rush forward and launch into an active struggle.

Therefore, in order to successfully carry out the revolutionary struggle and construction tasks, the masses, the masters, should give full play to their independent stand and attitude, organizational spirit, and action-consciousness in every task.

The masses can fulfill their responsibility and role as masters of their own fate only when they give play to their independent stand and attitude and their creativeness in the revolution and construction, with self-awareness as being the masters of the revolution. In the revolution and construction, the position of the masses as the masters of the revolution is guaranteed by their independent position, and their role is insured by their creative position. Accordingly, the work method of functionaries should be one which enables the masses to participate in the revolution and construction as befitting the masters, with an independent and creative stand.

By making functionaries firmly maintain the point of view of regarding the masses as the masters of the revolution, the revolutionary mass viewpoint can enable functionaries to firmly cherish the work method of operating not by the method of issuing orders and instructions to the masses, but by the method of enhancing their position and role, their independent and creative position, namely, by using the political method.

The revolutionary mass viewpoint also enables functionaries to establish the work method of going deep among the masses to operate by trusting the energies of the masses and relying on their efforts.

For leading functionaries to go among the masses and solve all problems on hand by relying on the efforts and wisdom of the masses is the communist style work method of successfully carrying out the revolution and construction through unity and cooperation between the higher and lower levels—a revolutionary work method of bringing guidance to the masses.

The masses are the decisive force going forward shouldering the revolution and construction. Success or failure of the revolution depends on the way the creative wisdom and energies of the masses are organized and mobilized. Individuals, no matter how intelligent and capable they may be, can embody but a limited portion of the wisdom and energy that mankind has accumulated throughout its history. The masses alone fully embody all the social treasures mankind has accumulated throughout its history and possess the creative ability to chart their own destiny by remaking nature, society, and human beings themselves. That is why the masses are the only force that is in charge of the forward movement of society and propels it forward.

It follows therefore that in order for functionaries to have the right work method, they should hold fast to the revolutionary principle of solving all problems by relying on the efforts of the masses. If functionaries should fail to hold fast to this principle, they would be

unable to avoid committing the errors of bureaucratism, formalism, and subjectivism in their work.

In order to establish the work method of going among the masses and operating by relying on their efforts and wisdom, functionaries should firmly establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint. The revolutionary mass viewpoint, being the viewpoint and stand of carrying out the revolution by trusting the inexhaustible energies of the masses and relying on their efforts, enables leading functionaries to establish the revolutionary as well as realistic work method of going among the masses and solving problems on hand by relying on the efforts and wisdom of the masses.

As you see, the revolutionary mass viewpoint forms the ideological and mental source of the work method that enables the masses to occupy their position as masters of the revolution and construction and play their role as such, and as well as of the people-oriented revolutionary work method of relying on the inexhaustible energies and wisdom of the masses.

The entire history of the Korean revolution which has walked the proud road of victory and glory under the wise leadership of the party and the leader clearly proves that only the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint can be the most people-oriented revolutionary, and powerful work method with invincible vitality.

When the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song early on embarked upon the road of revolution, he elucidated the revolutionary truth that the masses are the masters of the revolution and that there is nothing that cannot be accomplished if only their efforts and creative wisdom are relied upon. Precisely from this viewpoint, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song created the anti-Japanese guerrilla work method, the unique work method of carrying out the revolution by relying on the efforts and wisdom of the masses.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla work method, as the traditional work method of our party, is the prototype of the people-oriented revolutionary working method of our party based on the *chuche* ideology and embodying the mass line.

Throughout the entire course of organizing and leading the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song showed a shining new model of work method based on the *chuche* ideology and embodying the mass line, and led the efforts to popularize it among the commanding officers and the rank and file of the anti-Japanese revolutionary force and thoroughly implement it. As a result, among the anti-Japanese revolutionary force there came to be thoroughly established the work system and method by which commanding officers always went down to the base level to help and lead the masses. With the establishment of this

work system and method within the anti-Japanese revolutionary force, it became possible to mobilize the broad masses and lead the formidable anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to victory.

From the first postwar period of building a new society, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song energetically organized and led the struggle among functionaries to establish a people-oriented work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint. The struggle to establish a revolutionary work method was waged in close conjunction with the struggle against all kinds of erroneous phenomena, such as the flaunting of party power and the practice of bureaucratism. As a result, new changes took place in the way of thinking and the work attitude and work style of the functionaries, and the broad masses launched into the solemn struggle to build a new society.

Under the sagacious leadership of the great leader, the struggle among the functionaries of party, state, and economic organizations to establish a work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint continued to be vigorously waged during the Fatherland Liberation War and in the postwar period.

While seeing to it that the struggle was waged vigorously among functionaries to oppose the erroneous work method of operating in a bureaucratic and subjective manner contrary to the demands and interests of the masses, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song corrected the work methods of functionaries by personal example. With the waging of the struggle to do away with the outmoded work methods and establish a work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint, the unity and solidarity between the party and the people came to be strengthened with a new turnaround made in the revolutionary struggle and construction tasks.

The great leader, with a firm faith in the masses, went among them setting a shining example of the work method of operating by bringing their energies and wisdom into play, while leading our functionaries to constantly improving and strengthening their work method. It was thanks to this leadership that our people could win a great victory in the formidable Fatherland Liberation War; that our people could open the way for a great upsurge in socialist construction, namely, the beginning of the great Chollima movement, by overcoming multilayered barriers and ordeals in the arduous postwar period when there remained only heaps of ashes with everything so utterly destroyed; that our people could turn adversities into favors, misfortunes into blessing in their revolutionary struggle and construction tasks.

The traditional work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint came to be established to the fullest under the new circumstances in which the socialist revolution won victory and the socialist system was established its wake.

With a deep insight into the objective requirements of our developing revolution, the respected and beloved

leader Comrade Kim Il-song created the great Chongsan-ri spirit, the Chongsan-ri method. This method is a chuche-oriented work method based on the immortal chuche ideology and embodying the revolutionary mass viewpoint, the perfected communist style mass guidance method representing the deepened and developed version of the anti-Japanese guerrilla work method to suit the new realities of socialist construction. Indeed the Chongsan-ri spirit, or the Chongsan-ri method, is the mass guidance ideology and the mass guidance method that can be created no one else but the great leader, who upholding the mass-oriented viewpoint at its noblest height always shares his fate and fortune with the masses and gives his all for the sake of their freedom and happiness. The creation of the great Chongsan-ri spirit, the Chongsan-ri method, represents an immortal achievement made by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song for our age and our revolution.

The people-oriented work method created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint is being brilliantly carried on and developed at the new, high stage of development in our revolution in which the chucheization of the whole society has come to the fore, and its validity and invincible vitality are becoming more and more manifest.

With the firm chuche-based stand that in spite of constant change in the missions and conditions of the revolution, the position and role of the masses in the revolutionary struggle would never change, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il unitarily systematized and brilliantly formulated the people-oriented revolutionary work method created by the great leader himself into the great-leader-style work method and elucidated the principle that all functionaries should work by following the great-leader-style work method as it is, adding nothing to or subtracting nothing from it.

In addition, in order to thoroughly implement the great-leader-style work method within the whole party, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il set forth various guidelines, such as those for conducting party work in the anti-Japanese guerrilla style, for having all functionaries go down to the base level and establish an orderly work system, for sowing the seeds and gathering in the crop by our own efforts, and for rectifying the work methods of functionaries through ideological warfare. He has been energetically leading the struggle for the implementation of these guidelines..

Our party formulated the chuche work method created by the great leader into the great-leader-style work method and has clarified a series of principled problems arising in its implementation and provided guidelines for solving these problems, and this elucidation constitutes a noble and precious achievement made by thoroughly defending and preserving and brilliantly inheriting and developing the chuche-based leadership method set forth by the respected and beloved leader.

Thanks to the energetic leadership of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint founded by the great leader, namely, the great-leader-style work method, is being implemented brilliantly throughout the party, and a fundamental change came about in party work and the work of the functionaries.

Our functionaries, today heartily embracing the militant party call for producing, studying, and living all in the anti-Japanese guerrilla style, make it a rule to go among the masses carrying knapsacks on their backs just like anti-Japanese guerrilla commanders to assist functionaries at the lower levels in a substantive way and to solve all problems by relying on the efforts and wisdom of the masses, breaking bread with them and working with them. As a result, under the banner of three revolutions—ideological, technological, and cultural, the ideological remolding of man is progressing vigorously; constant upsurges are taking place in all fields of production and construction; and socialist construction is accelerating vigorously with the spirit of the chollima joined to the speed battle.

With an active struggle waged among functionaries to do away with the outmoded conventional work methods—such as bureaucratism, formalism, expeditiousness, and the administrative work method, and establish a people-oriented work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint, the subject of the revolution has been strengthened all the more, and the combat strength of the party has increased unprecedentedly. Party ideology and intentions are penetrating the masses more deeply, the people are fighting on not hesitating to go through fire and water in order to realize the party visions, and the whole party and all the people are moving as one according to party decisions and instructions—all these represent the priceless achievements made through the struggle to implement the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint to suit the new demands of the revolution at its current developmental stage of converting the whole society to the chuche ideology.

Today our party and people are faced with the important task of achieving the complete victory of socialism under the banner of chucheization of the whole society and accelerating the historic cause of reunifying the fatherland.

The more important the tasks that faces the party, the more complex the situation, the more vigorously we should wage the struggle to correctly establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint and institute the people-oriented revolutionary work method.

For functionaries to thoroughly establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint and the people-oriented work method is an important requirement for strengthening the subject of the revolution.

Strengthening the subject of the revolution is a decisive factor in achieving victory in the revolution, and the subject of the revolution is the united body of the leader,

the party, and the masses. The masses, although they are an integral part of the subject of the revolution, cannot automatically become the independent subject of history capable of carving out their won destiny in an independent and creative manner. In order for the masses to become the independent subject of history and the subject of the revolution, they need to weld themselves into one and the same organization and ideology under the party and the leader. Only by uniting around the leader under the leadership of the party in organizational and ideological terms will the masses be able to become a sociopolitical organism having an eternally independent life force. Here, if the leader is the center which uniformly controls the life activities of the sociopolitical collective, the party as the nuclear force of the masses tightly united around the leader in organizational and ideological terms constitutes the nerve center of the independent sociopolitical organism. Only by actively participating in organizational life as members of party organizations or social organizations led by the party can individuals strengthen their blood linkage to the leader, the center of the sociopolitical organism, and glorify their sociopolitical lives.

Weighty indeed are the duties shouldered by party functionaries in strengthening the subject of the revolution consisting of the leader, the party, and the masses. Party functionaries can bring leadership closer to the masses by making the masses action-conscious and organized so that they can unite tightly around the leader. Leadership can be brought to the masses closest when functionaries establish the correct viewpoint on the masses and vigorously carry out work with the masses by the people-oriented revolutionary work method.

For functionaries to establish the people-oriented revolutionary work method with the right mass viewpoint is an important requirement in insuring the high prestige of the party.

Today our people are brimming over with an intense sense of pride and confidence in carving out the bright future of communism under the leadership of the party and are loyally buttressing the party with an indeflectible faith. The higher the prestige of the party, the greater the faith of the people in the party, the harder the functionaries should work with the right work method as befitting the faithful servants of the people. Then and only then will they be able to defend the high prestige of our party in every possible way and consolidate the organizational and ideological foundations of the party all the more like bedrock.

Fully recognizing the important significance of establishing the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint, we should actively wage the struggle to establish the correct viewpoint and stand on the masses and constantly improve the work method.

In order for functionaries to establish the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint, it is important above all for them to arm themselves securely with the recondite doctrines of the immortal chuche ideology.

One's view and viewpoint on the masses are a reflection of his ideological consciousness, and the revolutionary mass viewpoint is established by the ideological consciousness that enables one to have the correct stand and attitude toward the masses.

The immortal chuche ideology is the ideotheoretical basis for establishing the revolutionary mass viewpoint. By elucidating the position and role of the masses in the revolution and construction, the chuche ideology enables functionaries to establish man-centered view and viewpoint in their thinking and practical activities. Our functionaries should therefore firmly establish the chuche-oriented mass viewpoint by stepping up the study of the "Collection of Writings of Kim Il-song" (the library of the immortal chuche ideology) and the writings of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il.

In order for functionaries to establish the correct work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint, they should also master the history of the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song.

The history of the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is the most excellent textbook which records all his immortal achievements made while organizing and commanding the underground revolutionary activities, the armed struggle, the party, state and military activities, and all other activities in the political, economic, and cultural fields for a long period spanning far more than a half century. Also synthesized therein are all the contents of the people-oriented revolutionary work method by which he solved difficult and complex problems by going among the masses in person and setting in motion their inexhaustible energies and wisdom.

Functionaries should study the history of the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song in depth, systematically and comprehensively, so that they may assimilate the thoughts and contents contained therein into their flesh and bones and implement them thoroughly in their practical work and activities. By so doing they should prepare themselves thoroughly as commanding personnel of the revolution and as skillful organizers and executors in the implementation of party policies who go forward to accomplish their revolutionary tasks by always relying on the masses and setting them in motion.

For all functionaries to go deep among the masses is an important way of establishing the work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Only by going among the masses can functionaries listen to the voices of the masses and organize and perform all tasks in accord with their interests. It is the masses who know reality better than anyone else and it is also the

masses who come up with rational and constructive suggestions to push tasks forward. Without going deep among the masses it is impossible to fathom the ability of the masses, set forth correct measures to push forward tasks by relying on their inexhaustible energies, or to carry out work with the masses to suit the concrete realities. Our functionaries, selected from among the people, should naturally make it a rule to go down to the base level and work and live with them. By so doing they will be able to learn the inner thoughts, desires, and demands on time and carry out appropriate political work, that is, work with people, in a substantive manner. When our functionaries establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint and go among them to perform tasks, they will inspire a greater faith with the party among the masses and firmly maintain the work method of inspiring the people to heroic struggle by planting in them an indomitable fighting spirit and courage.

Today the party and the leader pin really great hopes on our leading functionaries. Deeply aware of their honorable and responsible position and duty, all functionaries should carry out work with the masses in a substantive manner by the people-oriented work method based on the revolutionary mass viewpoint and bring about a new turnaround in the implementation of party policies, thereby repaying with loyalty the high trust and great expectations of the party and the leader.

Footnotes

1. "On Securely Establishing the Chuche View of the Revolution," monograph, p 17.

The Principle of the Revolutionary Duty Based on Comradeship Is the Intrinsic Moral Principle of the Socialist Society

00000000 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 22-28

[Pak Tae-chun; article not translated]

Our People's Mass Heroism Which Was Highly Displayed During the Fatherland Liberation War

00000000 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 6, Jun 89 pp 29-35

[Hwang Sin-yul; article not translated]

Devoting Oneself To Implementing Party Policy With the High Sense of Responsibility Is Functionaries' Revolutionary Duty

00000000 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 36-42

[Chin Chang-kil; article not translated]

Strengthening the Guidance Over Party Life Is the Party Organizations' Basic Duty*41090013B Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 43-47*

[Article by Chae Yong-to]

[Text] It has been 5 years since the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il released his immortal classical document, "On Further Enhancing the Role of Party Organizations in Central Agencies." In this document the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il analyzed in depth the positions and roles of the State Council, committees, departments, and other central agencies as state administrative organizations and lucidly clarified the directions and methods for central agencies and party organizations in fulfilling their responsibilities and duties. In particular, he comprehensively elucidated in his document the principled problems arising in stepping up party organizations' guidance to party members in their party life.

The teaching of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il on stepping up party life guidance constitutes the guideline to which all party organizations should always hold fast in their party work.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"We should grasp the principle of having central agencies and party organizations step up guidance to party members in their party life as the main guideline of party work and put great efforts into it."

Problems concerning party life is one of the fundamental problems in the chuche theory of party building. By party life are meant the activities of party members to fulfill their duties prescribed in the party by-law and the political activities to fulfill the demands of their political lives. Through party life, party members can glorify their most rewarding political lives as masters of the revolution. Party life consists of two aspects, organizational party life and ideological party life. Organizational party life means the political activities by which party members, by belonging to the party organization, subject themselves to its control and guidance and fulfill their revolutionary duties assigned by the party, whereas ideological party life means the political life through which party members accept and embrace spiritual nourishment necessary for maintaining their political lives and assimilate it into their flesh and bones.

To step up party life guidance is the basic duty of party organizations.

That to step up party life guidance is the basic duty of party organizations is related above all to the fact that doing so is the key link in strengthening the party ranks.

The qualitative straightening of the party, importantly, depends on the qualitative state of party members constituting the party. The party, inasmuch as it is a political collective made up of party members, can consolidate its ranks only when all party members making up the party are solidly prepared as chuche-oriented communist revolutionaries, united around the leader in organizational and ideological terms, and move in accordance with one and the same discipline and order.

Party life is the school of revolutionary indoctrination to bring up party members as true revolutionaries. It is through party life that party members can arm themselves firmly with the revolutionary thought of the great leader and the thought and theory of the party, thoroughly establish the revolutionary view of the world, and nurture the revolutionary organizational spirit. Party life is not only the school of revolutionary indoctrination but also the crucible of ideological steeling. Party life can steel party members in ideological will and prepare them solidly as quintessential elements of the revolution and chuche-oriented communist revolutionaries through daily ideological and practical struggles.

By stepping up party life it becomes possible to strengthen and develop the party ranks by making all party members unite around the leader in organizational and ideological terms and move in accordance with one and the same discipline and order. Party members do not automatically become connected to the party in organizational and ideological terms simply because they become members of the party. Moreover, a party whose members are not united with the leader in organizational and ideological terms cannot have solid party ranks. Only through active participation in party life can party members solidify their blood links to the leader, the center of the sociopolitical organism, and achieve unshakable unity and solidarity in ideological will centering around the leader.

Only by stepping up party life can party members insure strong organizational spirit, disciplinary character, and unity of action within the party and move forward as one along the road indicated by the party toward one and the same goal with a high organizational spirit and revolutionary disciplinary character. By doing so, the party will be able to become a steel-like combat force moving as one under whatever difficult circumstances.

That to step up party life guidance is the basic duty of party organizations is also related to the fact that such guidance makes it possible to vigorously accelerate the revolution and construction by enhancing the role of party members in socialist construction.

Party guidance in the revolution and construction is carried out concretely through the activities and vanguard role of party members to implement the party's lines and policies.

In every branch or unit where the masses work, there are invariably a party organization and its members. While working and living together with the masses, party

members discharge their duty to organize and mobilize them in the revolution and construction. Only by stepping up party life can party members better fulfill their vanguard role, their role as organizers and mobilizers of the masses.

The problem of realizing party leadership in the revolution and construction by enhancing the militant functions and roles of party committees at each level, namely, the supreme leadership organizations at various units, can be solved satisfactorily only when the activities of the cadres and party members making up each party committee, namely, their party lives, are stepped up.

A firm grip on party life guidance as their basic duty enables the party organization to accelerate the revolution and construction without taking over administrative economic work. If party organizations were to take over the administration rather instead of grasping party life guidance as their basic duty, it would weaken the sense of responsibility and initiatives of administrative economic functionaries and in the long run fail not only to set economic work to rights and but also to properly perform party work. Therefore, for party organizations to solve all problems as they arise by grasping and stepping up party life guidance as their basic duty becomes a principled requirement in accelerating the revolution and construction.

The revolutionary duties confronting our party and the prevailing situation today urgently demand that all party organizations step up guidance to party members in party life.

Today we are confronted with the sacred revolutionary duty to accelerate the victory of socialism by successfully fulfilling the Third 7-Year Plan and to achieve the independent reunification of the father land.

By making continuing leaps in socialist construction with the same spirit with which we have won a brilliant victory in the 200-day campaign, we should significantly adorn this year, the last year of the 1980's, as the year of a historic victory and once again demonstrate vigorously the revolutionary mettle of the chuche Korea and the indomitable will of our people.

We have to fulfill this difficult revolutionary duty under the complex situation at home and abroad. At present the imperialists and the reactionaries are mounting a desperate offensive in an attempt to reverse the flow current of the evolving history of mankind flowing toward socialism; and the U.S. imperialists nestling in South Korea and the South Korean puppets are engaged in all sorts of machinations to prolong the colonial rule and the military fascist dictatorship.

As the revolution and construction accelerate and as the situation at home and abroad becomes more complex, we should enhance the position and role of the party in every possible way while all the more resolutely defending the revolutionary principles of the working

class. And to do so, we should intensify still more guidance to party members in party life. Only by doing so will we be able to defend the banner of socialism to the end and crush the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialist reactionaries by demonstrating once again the heroism of the Korean people in the grand-march-of-socialism movement.

In particular, for party organizations in central agencies to step up party life guidance to party members arises as a very urgent problem in accelerating socialist construction. Functionaries in central agencies are the core forces of the party who assist the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il in every aspect of socialist construction attending him by his side. Importantly, how fast we can vigorously accelerate socialist construction depends largely on the ideological state and the degree of preparedness on the part of the functionaries of central agencies and party members. When leading functionaries of party organizations in central agencies bring about a new turnaround in the party life of party members, important problems encountered in socialist construction, such as those involving the economic organizational work for the grand-march-of-socialism movement and the necessities supply work for the people, can be solved correctly.

What is important above all in stepping up party life guidance is for party organizations to step up party life guidance with primary attention pivoted on constantly strengthening loyalty and filial devotion to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song among party members.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"Only when cadres and party members have the revolutionary view of the leader, can they loftily attend and venerate the leader with the revolutionary faith and integrity and give their all for the sake of the party and the leader."

Loyalty to the leader is the most important trait of the chuche-oriented communist revolutionary and the first and foremost life of the party member. Apart from loyalty to the leader there can be no worthy title of "WPK member." Loyalty to the leader is the highest manifestation of the revolutionary spirit, the party spirit, the working-class spirit, and people-mindedness; and its firm establishment offers the key to success in party life guidance designed to establish the chuche-oriented revolutionary party ethos in our party.

The doctrine of the chuche ideology concerning the subject of the revolution elucidates that the leader is the center around which the leader, the party, and the masses are united in organizational and ideological terms, making up a sociopolitical organism, and which unitarily organizes and command the activities of this organism; and that the party plays the role of the axis around which the masses are united with the leader. Just

as the center of life is important for the survival and activities of any organism, the masses cannot maintain their life force as an independent sociopolitical collective unless they are united as one with the leader at the center.

By thoroughly establishing the revolutionary view of the leader among party members, we should step up party life guidance to them so that they may deeply understand in terms of theory the position and role of the leader in the development of the party and the revolution and cherish their loyalty to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il as the revolutionary faith.

The leader is the benevolent father who not only bestows political lives on party members but also tenderly guides them on political and ideological terms and does his utmost to look after them so that they may enjoy a rewarding and happy life, in the same way a real parent cares for his children. This means that the relationship between the leader of the party and its members is a blood relationship similar to that between parents and children. Thus it becomes a communist trait peculiar to party members that they revere the leader like their real father and venerate him in earnest with the same high filial devotion as children show their parents and with an unsullied, pristine mind.

We should step up party life guidance among party members so that they may most fervently adore the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il and attend them at the loftiest level just as a filial child constantly does his utmost to attend his parents well, with utmost filial duty.

Party organizations should constantly step up party life guidance to develop the loyalty and filial devotion of party members to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il into a constitutional habit so that they may be single-heartedly loyal and filial to the party and the leader from generation to generation and resolutely preserve the purity of the party's political and ideological unity and solidarity centering around the leader under whatever adverse circumstances.

In strengthening party life guidance, it is also important for party organizations to see that party life is conducted in close conjunction with efforts to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Party life and efforts to accomplish the revolutionary tasks are not two separate things. Stepping up party life guidance among party members is not in itself the goal, but its purpose is to have party members accomplish their assigned revolutionary tasks in a satisfactory manner. For our party members, he who accomplishes all his party-assigned tasks well is one who performs party life well.

Today our party wants its members to enhance their vanguard role in order to effect a revolutionary upswing

on all fronts of socialist construction. The party life of our party members should be intended to make them prepared solidly as a shock brigade and standard-bearers in the struggle to accomplish unconditionally whatever task the party intends to accomplish in important industrial sectors, such as the extractive, metal, transportation, and consumer good industries, as well as in every sector of socialist construction including the battlefields of the grand nature remaking struggle. To this end, party life guidance should be intensified in such a way that the results of party life will appear in properly conducting economic guidance and management and production command designed to implement the party's economic policy in the case of administrative economic functionaries, in actively contributing to technical innovation and the development of science and technology in the case of scientists and engineers, and in guarding the defense posts of the fatherland like an iron wall in the case of the officers and men of the KPA.

In order to conduct party life in close conjunction with the implementation of the revolutionary tasks, all routine aspects of life should be thoroughly subordinated to the implementation of the revolutionary tasks. We should evaluate the party life of party members by the results of the implementation of their revolutionary tasks and give proper guidance to them in party life so that they may benefit the party and the revolution.

In stepping up guidance to party members in their party life, it is also important for party organizations to see that party members have the correct view of the party organization and participate in party life in earnest.

Generally, the view of the party organization is the viewpoint and attitude party members hold toward the party organization. In other words, it is an organizational view concerning how party members view and treat party organizations and how they accept the leadership and control of party organizations. In order to make party members cultivate the correct view of the organization, party organizations should correctly guide party members in their party life in conjunction with their sociopolitical lives so that they may deeply understand the value of the organization.

The masses can be welded into an independent sociopolitical organism only by using the party organization as the matrix. The party organization unites party members with the leader, the center of the sociopolitical organism, in organizational and ideological terms, enables them to glorify forever the sociopolitical lives bestowed upon them by the leader, and leads them to realizing the leader's thought and leadership. It may be said that the organizational party spirit is the lifeline which enables party members to glorify their sociopolitical lives forever on the path along which they share their fate with the leader, or the leadership line of the helmsman which makes party members uphold his thought and leadership. We should therefore properly guide all party members in their party life so that they may regard the view of the party organization not merely as a stand and attitude

toward the party organization but as the viewpoint and attitude toward the leader and value the party organization and treat it with dignity, with the *chuche* view of the party organization.

In order to correctly establish the view of the party organization among party members, we should see to it that they deeply appreciate the value of the organization through actual organizational life. Thus all party members should be made to value the organization as something above their own lives and make it a rule and habit to always rely on the organization and voluntarily participate in party life under the leadership and control of the organization. We should conduct party life voluntarily and in earnest wherever, whenever, whether anyone observes or not, and consciously strive to receive party guidance and control, with the viewpoint and stand that just as fish cannot survive out of water, party members cannot survive even for a moment out of the party organization.

Party organizations also should exert efforts to make party members regularize and standardize their party life. To regularize and standardize party life constitutes a positive method for enhancing the view of the organization and establish revolutionary party life ethos among party members and an important way of accelerating the process of their revolutionization. Party organizations should pay profound attention particularly to the summation of party life and constantly ascertain at what level and in what way the summation is being done. The summation of party life should not be a summation done in terms of administrative job performance but ought to be a politicoideological summation. The summation of party life should be carried out in the atmosphere of an acute ideological struggle from beginning to end, with primary emphasis on the unitary ideology system and the party leadership system.

Stepping up criticism and the ideological struggle is an important requirement in establishing a wholesome party life ethos. Only by intensifying criticism and the ideological struggle will it be possible to eliminate the old ideological remnants lurking in the minds of the people, indoctrinate and steel them in the revolutionary way, and establish a wholesome comradely relationship among party members. In the doldrums where there is no criticism or an ideological struggle, people can become lax and metamorphose politically.

Party organizations should see to it that all functionaries participate in criticism and self-criticism in earnest with the correct viewpoint and attitude toward criticism, and errors once criticized should be rectified once and for all, never allowed to be repeated.

In order for party members to step up party life, they should not be left to their voluntariness but their party life should be backed up by the guidance and control of the party organization.

Party life is not the isolated and spontaneous activities of individual party members. Inasmuch as party life is the process of activity to accomplish party-assigned tasks under the guidance and with the help of the party organization, party organizations should necessarily grasp and control the organizational and ideological party lives of party members.

Party organizations should strengthen partywide control so that all functionaries may live always by relying on the party organization, report their work to the party organization, sum up its results before the party, and voluntarily observe the discipline of the party organization. In particular, we should strongly grasp and control responsible functionaries so that they participate in organizational party life in earnest and work and operate under party control. Thus we should see to it that everyone goes forward with glorifying his valuable political life by participating in organizational life in earnest.

In the past period, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, deeply aware of the importance of stepped up party life guidance in party work, took all necessary measures for party organizations to always step up party life guidance and sagaciously led them in this effort. As a result, the *chuche*-oriented party life system and the *chuche*-oriented party life guidance system have been firmly established within the party, and a wholesome party life ethos has been established among party members.

Today all party organizations are faced with the honorable and important task of bringing about a new turnaround in party life guidance to party members to suit the demands of the developing realities in which the struggle to convert the whole party to the *chuche* ideology is intensifying. Party organizations and functionaries should fulfill their honorable duties by more tightly planning the task to step up the party life of party members to suit the party's intention on the basis of the results already attained in party life guidance.

Dialogue Is the Basic Form of the Work With People

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[Kim Ho-chin; article not translated]

Intensifying Control With Won Is an Important Problem Which Arises in the Socialist Economic Management

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[Article by Yi Kyong-chaе]

[Text] With a penetrating insight into the importance of controlling the economy through the won in socialist economic management, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il has once again stressed the need to strengthen the won-leveraged control of the economy to suit the realistic demands of the developing realities.

The teaching of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il on strengthening the won-leveraged control of the economy is the programmatic guideline to which we should hold fast in the struggle to manage the socialist economy in a scientific and rational manner.

Making the proper use of the won as a controlling leverage is one of the important ways of correctly managing and operating the socialist economy to suit its intrinsic requirements and the transitional characteristics of the socialist society.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

We need to strengthen control through the won in all sectors of the national economy.

Strengthening won-leveraged control is one of the important problems arising in socialist economic management.

Control through the won is control exercised by the state over the economic management of agencies and enterprises by using monetary relations. In other words, it means stimulating and controlling all branches, facilities, and enterprises by using monetary relations in such a way as to fulfill or overfulfill the state plans by stepping up the economy drive, by vigorously carrying out the technical innovation movement, and by conserving and managing state assets.

Won-leveraged control is exercised in the entire course of accounting for, measuring, and overseeing the process and outcome of business operations of agencies and enterprises in terms of money. In socialist society, to insure the planned production and circulation of social products and their frugal and effective use, comprehensive and systematic controls through the won are exercised over the entire process of reproduction, including the production, distribution, circulation, and consumption of products. Won-leveraged control is classified into fiscal and banking controls and control through value-oriented leverages according to the basic functions and characteristics of the organizations charged with exercising the control. All these different forms of control,

however, has one thing in common, that is, the exercise of control by using money as the leverage.

The exercise of won-leveraged control in socialist society is related to the transitional characteristics of socialist society.

In socialist society there still remain the two socialist forms of ownership, namely, all-people ownership and cooperative ownership; in addition, labor is not yet the primary requirement of living and there remains a gap between different forms of labor. In socialist society workers are indoctrinated in the revolutionary way, but in their minds there still remain the old ideological remnants carried down from the exploitative society and there is a gap in the material and cultural living standards among members of the society. In addition, in socialist society, where there remain monetary relations relative to commodity production and circulation, all social products and their circulation are computed in terms of money, and commodity production and circulation are accompanied by the circulation of money. In the process of socialist reproduction, money is used as a means of computation as well as means of payment and circulation.

Therefore, control exercised through the won over the process of reproduction by using the monetary leverage is of great significance in the rational management and operation of our socialist economy.

Above all, such control makes it possible to properly manage and operate the socialist economy by through the elimination of all phenomena of waste and the frugal management of the state economy.

In socialist society one of the important purposes of economic management is to eliminate all phenomena of waste and manage the state economy frugally by organizing and commanding the self-dependent and creative productive activities of the workers in a rational manner and by tightly planning and organizing managerial operations. In order to manage and operate the socialist economy properly, we need to correctly combine various forms of control while definitely giving priority to the ideological indoctrination work designed to enhance the self-awareness of the workers—masters of the state sovereignty and means of production—and their revolutionary ardor.

Control exercised here through the use of the monetary leverage becomes very effective. This is related to the fact that the process of production is no other than the process of utilizing material assets, and the process of utilizing material assets is accompanied by the circulation of monetary funds. In other words, in socialist society, which is transitional in nature, all the process of utilizing labor, machinery, equipment, and materials as well as the process of distribution, exchange, and consumption of products are computed and evaluated in terms of money.

When economic operations are properly controlled through the use of money as a leverage, agencies and enterprises are prompted to keep concrete tabs on the state of utilization of raw materials, supplies, manpower, and machinery and equipment and work out measures to conserve and utilize them effectively. This offers an important guarantee for overfulfilling the state plans by expediting the reproduction of materials and the use of manpower in a planned and rational manner.

Particularly, when won-leveraged control is stepped up, it can make enterprises using an independent economic accounting system continually increase the profitability of their operations and state accumulation by enabling them to correctly calculate and evaluate the outcome of all their expenditures and production in monetary terms.

Because of these functions of won-leveraged control, the more this control is strengthened, the more highly motivated the workers become to strive hard to strengthen the system of economizing and manage the national economy more frugally.

Strengthening won-leveraged control also plays an important part in enabling us to manage and operate the economy in a scientific and rational manner.

One of the important purposes in constantly improving socialist economic management to suit the demands of the developing realities is to gain great economic returns from economic activities by properly managing and operating the economy. High economic returns from production can be attained only through scientific and rational management and operation.

A scientific and rational management and operation of the economy can be successfully insured only when we tightly plan economic organizational work in conformity with various economic laws and economic norms applicable to socialist society. Inasmuch as economic organizational work is an administrative organizational work designed to realize a rational combination of labor, material assets, and machinery and equipment, its process is bound to be accompanied by the flow of material assets and monetary relations reflecting this flow. Accordingly, when stimulation and control through monetary relations are strengthened, functionaries are prompted to keep tabs on the flow and consumption process of material assets and preplan economic organizational work in order to effectively utilize them.

The more won-leveraged control is stepped up, the more functionaries are prompted to make an accurate economic calculation in economic organizational work and strive to gain a greater economic output from a smaller input. By this process the work of modernizing and scientizing economic management through the implementation of the right weighing and measuring system as well as the introduction of modern technical provisions, such as electronic computers, can be promoted successfully.

Strengthening won-leveraged control plays an important part in enhancing the sense of responsibility and creativeness on the part of the producer masses.

Socialist economy is one managed and operated by the masses themselves who became masters of the state and society. Only by having the masses actively participate in economic management and enhance their sense of responsibility and initiative is it possible to properly manage and operate the economy. A basic means of enhancing the sense of responsibility and initiative of the masses, masters of production and management, lies in stepping up ideological indoctrination work.

In socialist society the old ideological remnants remain in the minds of the people and the commodity and monetary relations exist. Under this condition, only by stimulating and controlling the economy through the correct use of economic leverages, such as the monetary leverage, only by stepping up ideological indoctrination work, will it be possible to reinforce the surging ardor of the masses and expand the results of their efforts. When won-leveraged control is stepped up, it will be possible to eliminate the phenomenon of causing economic damage to the state by making people better observe the instituted system and order, and all of them will actively strive to produce and build more by economizing on the use of material assets and better managing the machines and equipment. The more won-leveraged control is intensified along with ideological indoctrination work, the more the sense of responsibility and initiative of the producers will be enhanced by eliminating any room for the possibility of any phenomenon of failing to conserve and care for the common property of the state and society as if it were one's own from appearing.

Stepping up won-leveraged control arises as a pressing need in more vigorously accelerating the socialist construction, which is currently progressing on a formidable scale.

In our country today, under the sagacious leadership of the party and the leader, a solid self-supporting socialist national economy has been built and a powerful economic foundation has been laid upon which our economy is rapidly developing on the basis of modern technology. The scale of the nation's economy has become immense, the level of technological provisions has improved beyond comparison, and the interrelationship between economic branches and the internal relationship within each branch have become much more intimate.

By the great vision of our party, numerous monumental structures have been erected everywhere in our country; and as a result, the self-supporting foundation of the national economy has been consolidated, the country taking upon a new face.

At a time when the struggle to hasten the complete victory of socialism is proceeding vigorously, our people have launched into the grand-march-of-socialism movement and are actively waging the struggle to expand and

consolidate the bases for electricity, coal, and metal production and build new chemical bases and light metal production bases. Currently, a very large amount of labor, material, equipment, and money is being used on the sites of grand socialist construction. If on these sites the economy drive is stepped up, the nation's economic life is managed more frugally, and efficiency in production and construction is improved, greater material wealth can be created with existing productive resources. We should properly adjust and control the process of movement and utilization of a huge amount of material assets on each site of grand socialist construction by utilizing monetary relations—precisely this offers an important guarantee for intensifying the economy drive and frugally managing the national economy.

By clearly elucidating important problems arising in strengthening won-leveraged control at this time, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il has provided the guiding principle to which we must hold fast in the struggle to improve and strengthen socialist economic management.

In strengthening control through the won, it is important above all to attach primary importance to improving the indicators which reflect the qualitative aspects of production such as cost.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

From now on we need to establish a stringent order under which agencies and enterprises are required to make an accurate cost calculation in economic operations and when money, materials, and labor are used in excess of the unit standards, call will be made to account for the excess.

Improving the indicators reflecting the qualitative aspects of production plays an important part in utilizing social labor in a rational manner, insuring a high degree of effectiveness of production, and constantly improving economic operations in factories and enterprises. Qualitative indicators, such as the cost, labor productivity, profitability, and product quality, on the one hand reflect the quality of economic operations of the enterprise, and on the other, form the bases for formulating quantitative indicators, the yardstick indirectly reflecting the degree of improvement in the qualitative indicators.

To say that won-leveraged control is exercised with primary emphasis on improving the qualitative aspects of production is to say that the primary attention in stimulating and controlling the economy through the use of monetary leverages is directed at improving the qualitative indicators such as cost, labor productivity, and profitability.

Exercising won-leveraged control with primary emphasis on improving the qualitative aspects of production is

related to the fact that the improvement of the qualitative indicators such as cost and labor productivity provides a great reserve for giving full play to the potential of our self-supporting national economy and thus providing enormous profits to the state. Today, when the scale of the nation's economy has expanded without parallel, if we lower the cost in the industrial sector just by 1 percent, we will be able to make an additional fund of hundreds of millions of won available in accelerating socialist construction. Therefore, strengthening control through the won with primary emphasis on improving the qualitative indicators of production plays an important part in stimulating efforts to step up the economy drive, actively mobilize inner reserves, and effectively utilize material assets.

The question to which primary attention should be directed in stepping up won-leveraged control for the purpose of improving the qualitative aspects of production is how to make a correct accounting of the cost in managerial operations and how to intensify control over the process of implementing cost plans.

The cost of products reflects in a comprehensive and concentrated manner the extent of the factors of production used in a rational manner, that is, the state of observance of the unit consumption standards for the money, material, and labor. It follows that a tight grip on the cost and its accurate calculation in managerial operations makes it possible to achieve a maximum output in production with a minimum input. In this sense, the computation of the cost in itself forms the most important form of won-leveraged control and constitutes the key on which we should keep a tight grip in exercising control through the won.

In cost accounting, it is important to comprehensively calculate all factors affecting the cost. We should seek out hidden cost reserves at a maximum by comprehensively calculating all macroeconomic and microeconomic factors affecting the cost.

In this connection, it is particularly important to dovetail the cost plan with the indexes of production plan, the science and technology development plan, and the financial plan.

Inasmuch as the variable and fixed costs making up the primary cost bear a close relationship to the quantitative aspects of production, the cost plan should be dovetailed accurately with the production plan as well as the measures designed to insure the lowering of the cost. At the same time, the cost plan should also be dovetailed well with the financial plan reflecting the profit defined as the difference between cost and price, as well as the relations of profit distribution. This exactly is the process of computation associated with the production and distribution of social products and control through the won in the planning stage.

In addition to a comprehensive accounting of factors affecting the cost, we should accurately calculate the cost of each factor and each item. We should calculate the

cost of materials, power, and labor accurately so that we may stimulate efforts to reduce the outlay of materials, curtail power consumption as much as possible, constantly increase the per-person output, and continually increase the equipment operating rate.

Control through the won should be exercised on a routine basis throughout the whole process, not only in the process of calculating the cost but also implementing the drawn up plan.

It is important that in factories and enterprises, an orderly system should be established by which to keep tabs on and screen the state of the cost at each shop and at each work team by the day, by the 10-day period, and by the month so that the use of money, material, and labor may not exceed the item-by-item consumption standards. At the same time, only by establishing a scientific cost accounting system and calculating the total expenses incurred in the production of goods and the cost of each product and each process in a scientific manner will it be possible to make won-leveraged control prove its worth and contribute to improving economic management.

In stepping up control through the won, it is also important to correctly implement the independent economic accounting system.

The process of implementation of the independent economic accounting system in state-operated enterprises, which carry out economic activities with a relative managerial free hand under the centralized guidance and control of the socialist state, is no other than the process of exercising won-leveraged control.

The relations of economic accounting by which enterprises compensate for their expenditures with their own earnings and render profits to the state are realized through monetary relations, and in the process of utilizing these relations, won-leveraged control is exercised.

The independent economic accounting system based on material interest can induce the producers and control them so as to overfulfill the production plan and the cost and profit plans, only through the use of economic leverages such as living cost allowances, bonuses, incentive pay, enterprise funds in a rational manner. In this way, control through the won is exercised in the process of implementation of the independent economic accounting system by using material incentive leverages. Particularly in the independent economic accounting system predicated upon the morphological operation of the law of value, people are stimulated and controlled in such a way as to calculate the cost of production and its outcome and utilize social labor in a rational manner in accordance with the law of value.

The supply of funds from the state budget and the payment of profits into the state budget represent the basic monetary relationship between enterprises using the independent economic accounting system and the state. The process of paying the profits generated by

enterprises promptly into the state budget and receiving a supply of funds from the national budget within the preplanned scope forms a process of controlling the fulfillment of the fiscal plan. When factories and enterprises meet the demands of the independent economic accounting system, all kinds of wasteful expenditures can be eliminated.

It follows that enterprises should correctly implement the independent economic accounting system, seeing to it that the system is firmly turned into a means of control through the won.

With the correct understanding that the independent economic accounting system is a means of controlling economic operations through the won, economic guidance functionaries should wage a vigorous struggle to correctly implement the independent economic accounting system to suit the peculiarities of their respective fields and the realistic demands of the developing realities.

In this connection, it is important for functionaries to earnestly and persistently tackle the task to carry out economic activities in conformity with the rules and regulations of the independent economic accounting system and normalize production at a high level in every unit. At the same time, they should create model units exemplary in the implementation of the independent economic accounting system in each branch and in each production field and actively launch the task to popularize the experience of these model units.

In strengthening control through the won, it is also important to enhance the sense of responsibility on the part of financial and banking organizations and their role.

In socialist society financial and banking organizations are the state control agencies exercising directly won-leveraged control. Financial and banking organizations play an important part in improving financial management, executing the state budget without fail, and strengthening financial discipline in agencies and enterprises in all sectors of the national economy.

In the process of supplying state funds to all branches of the national economy under the national economic plan and the state fiscal plan, financial facilities control the flow of these funds in such a way that they are used in a rational manner. Financial organizations provide funds to agencies and enterprises to the extent of their fulfillment of the state plan and receive the profits accruing from their business operations into the state budget. For financial organizations to collect earnings from transactions and the profits of state-run enterprises promptly each time products are sold and collect their reserves for the depreciation of fixed assets on the prescribed date without fail is also the process of exercising control through the won.

It is also necessary to strengthen financial control by disbursing all state budgetary funds in accordance with

;the principles of the unitary fiscal management system and solving all financial problems only in accordance with the prescribe system, order, and discipline.

It is particularly important in properly exercising control through the won to correctly execute the local budget system established by our party. The process by which all localities cover their expenses with their earnings and accrue large profits to the state by frugally managing their economies is accompanied by no other than the process of control through the won. Accordingly, all localities should strive to further strengthen the budget system and manage their local economies frugally.

Banking control, together with fiscal control, occupies an important place in control through the won. Banking control, which is exercised in close conjunction with the process of providing funds, is one of the most comprehensive controls. The creation and use of monetary funds and banking control exercised comprehensively and systematically in all branches, units, and at all (?opportunities—kyeki) on a daily basis are executed mainly through the process of operation of banking facilities.

Banking facilities exercise advance won-leveraged control through the process of screening all plans of economic agencies and enterprises involving the use of monetary funds, such as their capital construction and major repair plans, financial plans, cost plans, and living-cost plans. Banking facilities therefore should induce factories and enterprises to search out all wasteful factors, such as reserve funds prepared from the viewpoint of departmentalism and funds not needed for now, so that they may economize on the use of money.

Particularly the process by which banking facilities provide state funds is the daily process of exercising control through the won for the successful fulfillment of the national economic plan. In the process of supplying funds for capital construction and major repairs in a planned manner, banks should see to it that the law of socialist reproduction of progressive scale and the party's policy demand for systematically improving the people's living standard are thoroughly implemented. In addition, they should induce enterprises to produce greater productive results with smaller expenditures in the process of restoring existing fixed assets in their original state and expand their capacity.

Correctly meeting the requirements of the socialist principle of making distribution in accordance with the quality and quantity of labor is also an important aspect of won-leveraged control exercised by banking facilities.

The process of loan operations of banking facilities is the process of supplying funds to factories and enterprises and controlling them so that they may use the funds in a rational manner.

How well the loan system established in our country for the first time will demonstrate its vitality depends in

large measure on how well banking facilities exercise their control over the supply and use of loans.

Banking facilities should strengthen control through loan leverages by thoroughly screening loan conditions, accurately assessing loan amounts, properly setting the dates of repayment of the loans, and making the borrowers to pay the loan interests on schedule.

In their daily operations, banking facilities should always check the flow of monetary funds, billing the price of products, and the state of payment into the state budget revenues at the financial departments of agencies and enterprises; promptly collect any money kept idle; and exercise daily control through the process of decision making on loans so that agencies and enterprises may strictly honor and observe planning and contract discipline and abide by purchase account settlement discipline.

In order for financial and banking functionaries to enhance their sense of responsibility and their role in exercising control through the won, they should possess a high standard of political and administrative quality and set an example themselves in the observance of financial discipline. In addition, they should step up political work to prevent any phenomenon of violating state financial discipline from appearing in agencies and enterprises and wage a daily struggle to make them properly use the money earned by the masses for their benefit.

Control through the won is indeed an important fighting task to accelerate socialist construction and constantly improve the people's living standard by frugally managing the nation's economy.

Economic guidance functionaries should actively contribute to managing the nation's economy frugally and accelerate economic construction by tightly organizing economic management and using all productive resources and materials in an economical and effective manner, with a profound understanding of the intrinsic nature of the party call for strengthening control through the won.

Improving the Labor Administration Work Is a Firm Guarantee for Stepping Up the Movement of the Grand Socialist March

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[Article by Yi Chae-yun]

[Text] Today all party members and workers are vigorously waging the grand march of socialism movement aimed at fulfilling the national economic plan for this year, the last year of the 1980's, and the Third 7-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule by upholding the militant party call for living and fighting in a heroic way.

The current grand march of socialism movement into which the whole nation has launched is an honorable and rewarding struggle to make great leaps in production and construction, further augment the economic strength of the country, and achieve the complete victory of socialism.

One of the important tasks into which we should put great efforts in order to accelerate at an ever faster pace the grand march of socialism movement aimed at adorning the glorious history of our party and people with immortal exploits is to improve labor administration work still more.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"Improving labor administration work in the present period has become a very important problem.

"Only by performing labor administration work properly is it possible to ease the strain on labor supply in the country and build socialism, communism successfully."

Labor administration work is one of the most important tasks arising in socialist economic management. This is related to the fact that labor administration is work with able-bodied persons, the producer masses, who are a decisive factor of production and the direct charge people of socialist, communist construction.

In socialist society where the means of production come under public ownership, the masses of working people are the masters of production and management. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the workers automatically play their role as the masters of production and management. In order for all workers to fulfill their responsibility and role as masters in the struggle with nature, we need to properly perform labor administration work so as to give full play to their revolutionary ardor and creative positiveness, organize socialist labor in a rational manner, and properly insure an independent and creative labor life for the producer masses.

In socialist society, labor administration is work with people. In other words, labor administration work is aimed at getting all workers to work voluntarily, sincerely, and intensely to the best of their abilities. In socialist society, properly performing administrative work always becomes an important substance of socialist economic management and one of the basics for promoting socialist economic construction. Only by properly performing labor administration work is it possible to make workers sincerely fulfil their assigned revolutionary tasks by bringing their revolutionary ardor and creative initiative into full play, and constantly improve labor productivity by organizing social labor in a rational manner and utilizing it effectively.

In the present period, improvement of labor administration work offers an important guarantee for the acceleration of the current grand march of socialism movement being waged by all our people.

The charge people of the grand march of socialism movement currently in progress in our country are all our workers. The masses of working people are the masters of this movement who are playing a decisive role in it.

How well the masses of working people will fulfill their responsibility and role as the charge people of the grand march of socialism movement depends on to what extent they are prepared in political and ideological terms and how much favorable existing conditions are in inspiring them to work to the fullest of their ability. All these important problems arising in the acceleration of the grand march of socialism movement can be solved more satisfactorily only by improving labor administration.

Improvement of labor administration work above all makes it possible to firmly inculcate the communistic attitude toward labor in the workers and successfully accelerate the grand march of socialism movement.

The communistic attitude toward labor is one of the important traits socialist workers should cherish. In socialist society labor performed by the workers is something most sacred and honorable for society and for the workers themselves and the fruit of labor is used wholly for the well-being of the workers themselves and the development of society. When all workers have the communistic attitude toward labor—for instance, regard labor as something most sacred and honorable and participate in communal labor for the society and collective voluntarily and sincerely, it will be possible to effect a continuing upswing in production and construction and accelerate socialist economic construction at a faster pace.

Today among our workers the communistic attitude toward labor has been firmly established, with all of them voluntarily participating in communal labor for the society and collective. In the present period, when we are faced with Herculean tasks of economic construction and the grand march of socialism movement is in progress to accomplish these tasks, how to implant the communistic attitude toward labor more securely among workers arises as a very important problem. Success in the grand march of socialism movement, importantly, depends on how well we plan and coordinate our efforts to cultivate the communistic attitude toward labor.

Inasmuch as labor administration is in essence work with people, if we, through its improvement, arm our workers securely with our party's chuche ideology, explain to them in depth and imbue them with the socialist constitution and the labor rules and regulations, and step up ideological indoctrination work, including indoctrination in collectivism, and labor propaganda work among them, we will be able to implant the communistic attitude toward labor among our workers

all the more firmly. In other words, strengthening of labor administration work will make all workers give play to the ethos of loving to work with the self-awareness of being masters of the grand march of socialism movement and enjoying their work all the more with the right viewpoint of regarding labor as something most honorable. Moreover, all workers will accomplish their assigned revolutionary tasks creatively and responsibly in the grand march of socialism movement by giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and continue to participate in rewarding communal labor and work diligently for the society and collective as befitting the master. When the communistic attitude toward labor is firmly established among workers, they will give full play to their revolutionary ardor and creative positiveness in the grand march of socialism and further produce brilliant labor achievements.

Improvement of labor administration will also enable us to successfully accelerate the grand march of socialism movement by mobilizing the nation's labor resources to the fullest and utilizing them effectively.

The masses of working people are the creators of history, and communism can be built only through the creative labor of the masses of working people numbering in millions. Whether or not we will be able to build socialism and communism at a faster pace depends ultimately on how we mobilize the nation's labor resources and how effectively utilize them. The greater the number of people participating in socialist construction and the higher the effectiveness of their labor, the faster the pace of socialist and communist construction will be. One of the important guarantees for achieving a proud success in the current grand march of socialism movement designed to realize our party's great vision for economic construction lies precisely in mobilizing the labor resources of the country to the fullest and use them more effectively.

We need an enormous amount of manpower and material resources to accelerate the grand march of socialism movement. With the fast growth in social production and the drastic increase in productivity in the recent period, demand for labor has steadily increased, making it imperative to utilize labor more effectively. Labor supply problems arising in the acceleration of the grand march of socialism movement and the problem of using labor more effectively can be solved successfully only by improving and strengthening labor administration to suit the demands of the realities.

If we comprehensively survey and keep tabs on the nation's labor resources and assign able-bodied persons on a basis of the right job to the right person and in a balanced manner to suit the degree of their preparedness and their abilities by improving labor administration work, we will be able to make all workers actively participate in the grand march of socialism movement and satisfactorily solve problems relating to the strain on labor supply. If factories and enterprises—the units

directly using labor—rationally organize work, strengthen labor discipline, and fully insure adequate working and living conditions for workers, they will be able to make their workers launch into the grand march of socialism movement as one and work intensely to the best of their abilities by giving full play to their energies and talents. When all workers actively participate in social labor and an equilibrium in labor supply and demand is properly maintained, gross social product will further grow through increases in the number of workers and through the effective use of labor. Improvement of labor administration is of great significance not only, more immediately, in increasing production but also in solving new manpower problems attendant to the expansion of the productive capacity of the national economy.

In this way, improving labor administration to suit the realistic demands of the developing realities offers a sure guarantee for a successful acceleration of the grand march of socialism movement by nurturing the communistic attitude toward labor among workers and mobilizing the labor resources of the country and effectively utilizing them to the fullest.

Today we have all necessary conditions and possibilities for improving labor administration work to suit the demand of the developing realities. We have our party's ingenious thought and theory on socialist labor administration work reflecting the decisive role played by the masses of working people in the revolution and construction, as well as the intrinsic superiority of the socialist system in our country, and the concrete guidelines embodying these thought and theory in each period and stage of socialist economic construction. In addition, we have the labor administration functionaries who are solidly armed with the chuche ideology of our party and prepared in technical administrative terms, and the rich experience in successfully resolving the strain in labor supply in the country and strongly buttressing socialist economic construction with labor by improving labor administration work. If our functionaries thoroughly recognize the importance of improving labor administration work in the present period and further improve and strengthen this work, we will be able to vigorously accelerate the grand march of socialist movement.

We should mobilize the labor resources of the country to the fullest extent, eliminate waste in the use of labor, and actively seek out reserve labor to suit the realities of the vigorous procession of the grand march of socialism movement. By so doing we should continue to satisfactorily meet the demand for labor necessary to accelerate the overall grand march of socialism movement, while better insuring labor supply for major plant construction projects, including projects for the expansion of the production capacity of key factories, into which we are currently putting great efforts as more immediate tasks. At the same time, we should thoroughly establish the revolutionary labor life ethos among the workers, improve the levels of their technical skills, and use labor more efficiently by organizing production and work in a rational manner.

All functionaries should work continuing miracles and innovations in the grand march of socialism movement by further improving labor administration to suit the realistic demands of socialist construction which is progressing at a new, higher stage.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"We should go forward with improving labor administration work to suit the realistic demands of socialist construction and the Taean work method."

In improving labor administration in the present period, it is most important to correctly carry out labor planning work and assign labor on the basis of a scientific standard.

To properly carry out labor planning work and assign labor on a scientific basis is an inherent demand of planned socialist economy and an important condition for improving labor productivity by combining labor with the means of production in a rational manner and utilizing it effectively.

Socialist economy is an economy which develops in a planned manner based on the public ownership of the means of production. Only through a proper execution of classification work is it possible to place labor in a planned manner to suit the inherent demands of planned socialist economy and utilize it in a planned manner; and only by placing labor on the basis of a scientific standard is it possible to eliminate any phenomenon of wasting labor or causing impediment to production and construction due to a shortage of labor and utilize available labor more effectively.

Functionaries in charge of labor administration work should draw up labor supply plans on the basis of advanced technical and economic standards, such as labor usage norms set in a scientific manner, and on the basis of concrete calculations of all factors down to small details, and thus ensure that there shall be no phenomenon of allocating in the plans a greater amount of labor than necessary. At the same time, they should set labor allocation norms in a scientific manner to suit the realistic demands associated with the rising levels of technical provisions in the national economy and of the workers' ideological consciousness and to suit the concrete situations in their respective branches, factories, and enterprises; and on the basis of these norms should allocate labor, should continually revise labor usage norms for each process in accordance with the change and development of all factors affecting labor allocation and adjust labor supply and place labor on time accordingly. In this way, in each branch and unit of the national economy, they should prevent any phenomenon of retaining or wasting even 1 man-day's labor in excess of the amount of labor necessary for the fulfillment of the national economic plan.

What is important in improving labor administration work in the present period is to make all workers utilize their working hours fully and efficiently.

Using one's working hours fully and efficiently means having all workers work intensely devoting all their energies and wisdom to their work, not wasting even 1 minute or 1 second of the 480-minute working hours as provided for by law.

Success in socialist economic construction does not depend only on the number of workers participating in production and construction, but more importantly, on the degree of efficiency with which the workers utilize their assigned working hours. No matter how great a number of workers may participate in socialist economic construction, they would not be able to increase their labor productivity unless they properly utilize their working hours. Production and construction are carried out by the creative labor of the workers, and their labor activities are performed within their working hours. Only when workers utilize the given working hours fully and efficiently, will they be able to successfully fulfill their assigned tasks in the national economic plan. The national economic plan in itself was drawn up on the assumption that all workers utilize their working hours fully and efficiently.

To improve productivity by having workers utilize their working hours fully, we should on the one hand actively arouse their self-consciousness by giving priority to political work, labor propaganda work, and on the other, correctly combine the means of production with labor by organizing the usage of labor in a rational manner, enhance work discipline, and enable the workers work to the best of their abilities by providing adequate working conditions.

Inasmuch socialist economic construction is a difficult and complex task of remaking and transforming nature by mobilizing an enormous amount of manpower and technical equipment, in its process some unexpected problems may crop up or there may be a temporary surplus of labor or the working hours may not be utilized fully due to the ever changing situation. It is therefore an important duty of functionaries to work out dynamic labor usage measures to suit these changing conditions and prevent even 1 man-day, or 1 minute, or 1 second of the working hours from being wasted.

All branches and units of the national economy should examine and allocate manpower in concrete terms on the basis of a scientific standard and take various active measures—such as readjusting the labor supply when there is a labor surplus so as to transfer the surplus to areas where there is a strain on labor supply, and organizing productive support when there is enough manpower to spare—in order to have the workers devote all their energies and abilities to their work.

Regularization of labor administration work is one of the important ways to further improve this work.

In socialist society labor performed by the workers is collective labor, and the creative labor activity of each worker is an composite part of the communal labor of society. Greater results can be produced in production and construction only when the labor life of the workers is highly organized and unity of action and unity of motion are insured to suit the demands of collective labor, the communal labor of society.

Regularization of labor administration work makes it possible to insure unity and consistency in labor administration, a difficult and complex task which contains a comprehensive substance; solve all problems that arise, in accordance with the demands of the socialist labor law and the labor rules and regulations; and properly organize and mobilize workers in the grand march of socialism movement by highly organizing and institutionalizing the labor life of the workers to suit the demands of the socialist economic system. Regularization of labor administration work means nothing other than thoroughly institutionalizing the task of organizing and executing labor administration work in accordance with the socialist labor law, and the labor rules and regulations, and the by-laws and detailed rules relative to the application thereof.

To regularize labor administrative work, all functionaries including those in charge of labor administration, and all workers should arm themselves solidly with the party policy on regularizing labor administrative work and have a firm determination and resolve to thoroughly and unconditionally implement it to the finish. In addition, the concrete detailed rules designed to strictly enforce the socialist labor law and the labor regulations, as well as the job performance standards to insure the performance of daily work assignments, beginning with reporting to work and ending with leaving the office for home at the end of the working hours, should be further perfected to suit the realistic demands; the level of entrepreneurial management in existing model units and

standard factories should be raised higher and their experience popularized. At the same time, efforts should be made to vigorously wage the technical innovation movement, improve the workers' material and cultural living standards, and thoroughly implement the socialist principle of distribution by improving labor administration work.

In socialist society labor administration work is a task wholly for the good of the masses working people which can be successfully accomplished only through an active role played the masses of working people themselves. What viewpoint and attitude workers have toward labor administration work is one of the key factors influencing the outcome of labor administration work. We should, by turning labor administration work into a task of the masses themselves, make all workers actively launch into this task and solve problems arising in labor administration work by giving full play to their revolutionary ardor and creative positiveness.

Further improving labor administration work to suit the demands of the developing realities is an honorable and responsible task to translate our party's idea of accelerating the grand march of socialism movement into reality.

We will continue to give full play to the surging revolutionary spirit of the workers and continually work miracles and innovations in the grand march of socialism movement by bringing about a new turnaround in labor administration.

Blending the Unified Guidance of the State and the Creativity of Each Unit Adequately in the Socialist Economic Guidance and Management

00000000 *Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean*
No 7, Jul 89 pp 66-70

[Pak Yong-kun; article not translated]

JPRS-AKU-89-018
5 December 1989

Cultural Construction

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**The Immortal Library on the Buildup and
Creation of Stage Art of Our Era**

00000000 *Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean*
No 7, Jul 89 pp 71-77

[Yi Tan; article not translated]

The Reunification of the Fatherland Must Be Achieved Through a Confederal System

SK1109054189 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean No. 7
Jul 89 pp 78-84

[Article by Chong Tu-hwan]

[Text] National reunification is the supreme national task and an important issue which should not be delayed any longer.

It is of great significance to seek reasonable methods for resolving the issue of national reunification. Only when reasonable reunification methods are sought, can the basic obstacle to national reunification be removed and can the important problems be solved smoothly.

The most reasonable method for national reunification under the present circumstances in our country is to found a confederal state by leaving intact the ideologies and systems in the North and South.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: In order to achieve national reunification under the circumstances, in which different ideologies and systems practically exist in the North and South of our country, we should found a unified state in such a manner as to unify the two autonomous governments by leaving intact the two existing systems based on the principle of coexistence, not allowing one to swallow the other or being swallowed by the other or one to overpower the other or being overpowered by the other.¹

The reunification plan based on the method of confederal system is a patriotic plan which enables our people to attain national unity and prosperity and development in the reunified state by putting an end to the tragedy of national division.

The reunification issue in our country should be realized through a confederal system without fail.

The reason why national reunification should be achieved through a confederal system is that this system correctly reflects the concrete situation in our country.

The different ideologies and systems have existed for nearly a half century in the North and South of our country and such difference and confrontation are growing even greater with each passing day.

In order to attain national unity and achieve national reunification under this circumstance, one should not assume one's idea and system as absolute ones nor enforce them on the other. If one attempts to press the other to accept what one has, confrontation and clashes will be unavoidable and the barriers of division will rise higher.

At a time when all the fellow countrymen unanimously aspire reunification, and national reunification has emerged as the supreme national task, we should not

allow the difference in ideologies and systems to work as the reason of division and as the condition making the reunification impossible.

The people who have different ideologies can live together within the nation and different social systems can exist together within a unified country.

In order to make the different ideologies and social systems exist within the nation, a confederal state should be founded in such a manner as to unify the two autonomous governments, leaving intact the two systems, based on the principle of coexistence, not allowing one to swallow the other or being swallowed by the other and one to overpower the other or being overpowered by the other.

Proceeding from this, we do not enforce our ideology and system on South Korea. We simply made all possible sincere efforts for national unity and national reunification.

The South Korean ruling bunch should discard its unjust attitude and position to enforce its ideology and system on us and should stand on the sincere position to truly achieve national unity and national reunification.

Only if the North and South assume the position to achieve reunification together, can national reunification be achieved through a confederal system.

National reunification should be achieved through a confederal system because the people from all walks of life in the North and South unanimously demand that national reunification be realized in a manner of a confederal system.

Today the struggle for national reunification is being actively waged both in the North and South, and is developing onto a new higher stage. Proceeding from the ardent wish to hand over the reunified fatherland to the future generation by ending the tragedy of national division at any cost, the people in the northern half of the Republic are consistently making every sincere effort to reunify the nation through a confederal system by upholding the wise leadership of the party and the leader.

Our efforts for the peaceful reunification evoked active support and great sympathy from the people at home and abroad.

The reunification movement has also entered a stage of unprecedented upsurge.

The reunification issue in our country is, in essence, the struggle to establish the nationwide sovereignty by ending the U.S. imperialists' colonial domination over South Korea. Therefore, how the reunification movement in South Korea will develop is of great significance in achieving the reunification.

Prompted by the Kwangju popular uprising, the anti-U.S. struggle for independence in South Korea has become the main stream of the movement for national reunification.

Labeling the United States as the "ringleader of national division" and "basic obstacle to national reunification," the South Korean people extensively put out to the front anti-U.S. slogans for independence, including "Let us expel the U.S. imperialists who disturb our national reunification!" and "Yankees [preceding word in English] to their home and the North and South to reunification!" Under the slogans "Come from Halla and Paektu and meet each other at Panmunjom!" they are persistently struggling to realize contact and dialogue between the North and South and national ties and national unity by rejecting various hindering maneuvers by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet clique.

The anti-U.S. movement for independent reunification in South Korea today is developing into a movement of the majority, not a movement of the minority; into a movement of the masses, not a movement limited to only specific segments of the people; and into a struggle for reunification in the form of a confederal system on the basis of the three principles of national reunification, not a simple movement for reunification debates.

Referring to such development in the reunification movement in South Korea a South Korean publication said: "It is obvious that the new trend in the movement for national reunification which has become the current of the times is not a passing typhoon which explodes suddenly. We can realize this first of all from the fact that the ardent desire and demands of all the people in South Korea for national reunification are increasing rapidly." The publication said that these demands have become "not a mere romantic and emotional assertion of the postwar generations but the demands of all of the people and the supreme task that should be settled without delay."

As their vital demands the South Korean people have come up with the issue of achieving the country's reunification by founding a confederal republic on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification, and great national unity, as well as the issue of withdrawal of the United States, the ringleader of the division of the country, from South Korea after taking its hands of domination and intervention off South Korea, the issue of abolishing the anticommunist system which inspires distrust and confrontation between the North and South, and the issue of alleviating tension between them.

Stressing that "independence, peaceful reunification, and great national unity are the immortal principles for national reunification," the South Korean youths, students, and people have strongly asserted that "a realistic and reasonable method of reunification is the method of reunification in the form of a confederal system which has been put forward by the North and that, therefore,

the government, if it seeks the people's support, should accept the North's proposal for national reunification in the form of a confederal system."

The opposition parties and dissident opposition forces in South Korea, too, are widely raising the voices calling for national reunification in the form of a confederal system though there are some conditions in their voices. They are also asserting that "the confederal system is the base fertilizer for reunification" and that to reunify the country peacefully "it is inevitable to adopt whatever form of a confederal system." They are urging that "the preconceived idea which regards the North's proposal for the confederal system as a means to communize [the South] simply because it put forward first should be eliminated" and that "the North's proposal for a confederal system under the name of Koryo should be accepted for the achievement of national reunification."

The South Korean ruling circles have become unable to block the demands of the broad segments of the South Korean people for reunification in the form of a confederal system, and accordingly they have come to be unable to turn a deaf ear to the demands for reunification in the form of a confederal system. Proceeding from such a situation, the South Korean rulers have hinted that they are considering so-called "reunification through a confederal system."

All facts show that the reunification movement in South Korea has entered a new developing stage and that the South Korean people of all walks of life are unanimously calling for the settlement of the reunification question through the method of adopting a confederal system.

The problem, however, is that finding that the popular masses' demands for reunification through a confederal system are extraordinarily increasing, the South Korean rulers, who once talked about "a plan for reunification through a confederal system," are trying to block the demands with bayonets, thereby laying bare to the world their true colors as splittists.

If and when the South Korean puppets' maneuvers to block the South Korean popular masses' demands for reunification through a confederal system are checked and frustrated the people in the North and South can pool their strength together and easily achieve reunification through a confederal system.

The reason why national reunification should be achieved in the form of a confederal system lies in the fact that the form of a confederal system can become the basis of national harmony and consensus on the method of reunification.

National reunification is a nationwide cause which can be achieved only when the will and strength of the entire nation are pooled. Therefore, a national consensus on a reasonable method of reunification should be provided first.

Without a national consensus on a method of reunification there will be no progress in the promotion of reunification and the reunification question itself cannot be materialized. Therefore, to achieve national reunification the national consensus on a reasonable reunification method should be established between the authorities and the authorities, between the parliament and the parliament, between political parties and political parties, between public organizations and public organizations, and between the civilian level of the two sides.

The issue of achieving national consensus on a method of reunification has become a more urgent issue in light of today's situation in particular in which the reunification-oriented stand of trying to break down the barrier of division and, thus, to achieve reunification at any cost, while viewing national reunification as a realistic issue, and the splittist stand of trying to continue the present state of confrontation and tension while viewing national reunification as a distant future event, are sharply confronting each other.

A method of reunification that can be considered under the present situation of our country includes the issue of mutual relations between peace and reunification, the issue of the two systems existing in the North and South, and the issue of the form of a reunified state and the composition of a reunified government.

The issue of mutual relations between peace and reunification is the issue on whether peace and reunification should be viewed as a continuative process related with each other or they should be viewed as separate issues. Viewing the guarantee of peace and the realization of reunification as a continuative process closely related with each other is precisely the peaceful reunification-oriented stand that if and when peace is guaranteed in our country after driving the U.S. imperialist aggression forces out of there the reunification question can be smoothly settled. On the other hand, viewing peace and reunification as separate and different problems is the antipeace and antireunification stand which attempts to perpetuate the division of the country and furthermore to create "two Koreas" by establishing various phases between peace and reunification under the pretext of "firm establishment of peace."

The issue of the two systems existing in the North and South is the issue on whether reunification should be viewed as the formation of a reunified state leaving the two different systems existing in the North and South as they are or should be viewed as combining the two different systems into one. Viewing reunification of the country as the founding of a confederal state leaving the two different systems existing in the North and South as they are is the reunification-oriented stand which seeks to establish national sovereignty on a nationwide scale and, thus, to achieve national unity. Viewing reunification of the country as combining the two different systems into one is the splittist stand which seeks to aggravate confrontation and conflict by forcing one

side's system on the other side and, thus, to prevent reunification of the country forever.

The form of a unified state and the establishment of a unified government are questions whether the form of a unified state would be a confederal state or a single state, and whether a unified government would be established as a unified national government to be equally represented by the North and South, or would be established through "general elections" that are unrealistic under the present circumstances.

Advocating the establishment of a unified state in the form of a confederal state and the establishment of a unified national government through equal representation of the North and South is a stand of reunification, which is intended to smoothly achieve national reunification without confrontation and conflict. But advocating the establishment of a unified state in a form of a single state and the establishment of a unified government through "general elections" with the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression still remaining in South Korea is a stand against reunification, which further aggravates confrontation and conflict and makes it impossible to achieve reunification.

Thus, under the circumstances in which the stand of reunification and the stand of division are confronting one another, a rational way of reunification that can be accepted by both the North and South should be explored to achieve national consensus over the way of reunification.

With an earnest stand and attitude for reunification, if the North and South jointly seek to establish a unified state through a confederal system, national consensus can be easily achieved over the way of reunification.

The most rational way of establishing a unified state which can be accepted by both the North and South is the way of establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo [DCRK], which we proposed earlier.

Today, there are many confederal states in the world. In nature and form, they are different. But they are all based on the same social system. Accordingly, all of them are basically pursuing the same social and political interests according to their situation.

In our country where the two different social systems exist in the two divided regions, the confederal state should be established not by being under the same social system but by uniting based on the homogeneity of the nation under the two different systems. This is precisely our proposal for the DCRK.

The proposal for the DCRK is the most rational and realistic reunification proposal to achieve the reunification of the fatherland by founding a confederal republic through the establishment of a unified national government under the premise that the North and South recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and systems, a

government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they respectively exercise regional autonomy.

The proposal for establishing the DCRK envisages the achievement of national reunification through the establishment of a unified state under a confederal system by achieving the unity of the two regions of the country where the two different ideas and systems exist. Thus, it is a unique reunification proposal of our own style which is based on a profound scientific analysis of the specific conditions of our country and the situation of the reunification movement.

The reason why the proposal for establishing the DCRK is the most rational and realistic proposal for the reunification of the fatherland is, above all, because it thoroughly embodies the common national program of reunification, the three principles of the fatherland's reunification—*independence, peaceful reunification, and grand national unity.*

The three principles of *independence, peaceful reunification, and grand national unity* are the principles which the North and South agreed upon and solemnly proclaimed to the nation, and which have been acknowledged by the world. Thus, they are entirely just and fair principles of reunification which can be accepted and agreed upon by all people who truly desire the reunification of our country.

The basic content of the proposal for establishing the DCRK is to firmly maintain independence and follow an independent policy in all activities of the unified state.

The independence of the DCRK will be guaranteed, because it will not become a satellite of any foreign country, because it will not depend on any foreign force and, as a sovereign and independent state, it will settle the issues in all areas of the activities in the international community according to the basic interest of the nation and the situation of our country.

By advocating the removal of North-South military confrontation, the alleviation of tension, and the guarantee of peace as preconditions to settling the question of the reunification, the proposal for establishing the DCRK will properly settle the question of mutual relations between peace and reunification.

Peace in the DCRK will be guaranteed, because the factors that can make one side exasperate the other and can aggravate tension and cause distrust and conflict will all be removed, because the Korean People's Army and "national army" of South Korea will be amalgamated and formed into a single combined national army, and this combined national army will perform the duty of national defense under the unified leadership of the confederal government as the national army of the unified state which belongs to neither side of the North and South.

The proposal for founding the DCRK envisages the founding, strengthening, and developing of a unified state with the form of confederation based on the will and united strength of the nation and, thus, correctly resolves the issue of mutual relations between the founding of a unified state and great national unity.

The proposal for founding the DCRK guarantees this issue because the proposal not only leads all organizations and individual figures who participate in the national reunification and the founding of the unified state to firmly unite under the principle of not making an issue of their past, but also does not allow them to receive any form of political retaliation or persecution.

Thus, the proposal for founding the DCRK has thoroughly materialized the three principles of *independence, peaceful reunification, and grand national unity.* This has led the people in the North and South alike, who have different ideologies, political views, and religions, to sympathize with and accept the proposal.

The basis of the proposal for founding the DCRK being a most reasonable and realistic way for national reunification lies also in the fact that the basic content of the proposal includes the founding of a confederal state which guarantees the interests of the North and South alike, giving priority to the common interests of the nation.

The basic content of national reunification is to found a unified state. The problem in this is what form of a unified state should be founded. A proposal for reunification, to become a truly realistic one under the present situation of our country, should direct toward founding a unified state which firmly guarantees the interests of the North and South alike, giving priority to the common interests of the nation. If a proposal for reunification seeks to establish a unified state which pursues the interests of specific classes or social strata only or which gives advantage to either one side of the North and South and disadvantage to the other side, the founding of such a unified state will be impossible forever and will be of no significance in the achievement of national reunification. Reunifying the country is not in the interests of specific classes or social strata but in the interests of the entire Korean nation. Therefore, the interests of individual classes or social strata should serve the common interests of the nation. From this point of view, to reunify our country there is no other way than to found the DCRK.

If and when the DCRK is founded in our country the U.S. imperialist aggression forces and their nuclear bases will not remain in South Korea any longer, and the Korean peninsula will be turned into a nuclear-free peace zone, thereby giving no threat to the surrounding areas. At the same time this will make great contributions for peace and security of the world. The DCRK firmly guarantees this because it has declared in its foreign policy that it will become a neutral country which will not join any political and military alliance or bloc.

Thus, the proposal for founding the DCRK makes it possible to resolve the issue of mutual relations between peace and reunification, the issue of the two different systems existing in the North and South, the issue of the form and composition of a unified state, all the problems which arise in operating the unified state, and even the problems which arise in its international relations in conformity with the basic interests of the entire nation and the aspirations of the peace-loving people of the world.

Indeed, the proposal for founding the DCRK is the best proposal which makes it possible to realize the interests and demands of the entire nation without infringing upon the will and interests of the North and South. In light of the present situation of our country there is no proposal better than the proposal for founding the DCRK.

To reunify the country through a confederal system, it is imperative to convene a political consultative conference of leading figures who can represent all political parties, political groups, and people of all walks of life in the North and South.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: "Firmly believing that under such a situation the proposal for reunification through a confederal system can constitute the basis of national consensus we propose with courtesy that leading figures who can represent political parties, political groups, and people of all walks of life in the North and South hold a North-South political consultative conference in Pyongyang in the near future to sincerely discuss the proposal."²

The proposal for holding a political consultative conference of leading figures of the North and South put forward by the great leader is a most reasonable proposal for negotiations which makes it possible to easily pool the will of the nation and to achieve national consensus on ways for reunification under the present situation.

There is no reason or excuse whatsoever for the South Korean side not to accept this proposal. Taking into consideration the fact that the persons in authority of South Korea have strongly opposed holding multilateral dialogue such as a grand national conference and a North-South joint meeting in which representatives from political parties, public organizations, and people of all walks of life in the North and South participate, the proposal makes it possible to pool the will of the nation and to achieve a national consensus with a smaller number of persons. The proposal has also taken into consideration the will of the persons in authority of South Korea.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song said that leading figures of the North and South can hold multilateral and bilateral dialogues within the framework of the political consultative conference of leading figures of the North and South and that if the leading figures in South Korea come to Pyongyang with a constructive reunification formula any of their overtures can be open-mindedly

discussed with us. This proceeds from the single-hearted desire to sincerely discuss and find ways for reunification together with the leading figures of South Korea.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's new proposal for holding a political consultative conference of leading figures of the North and South is a *chuche*-oriented, patriotic, and nation-loving measure for national salvation to open the road of reunification with our nation's own strength at any cost. The proposal has bestowed new hope and faith upon the entire nation.

The political consultative conference of leading figures of the North and South should be convened at the earliest possible date and should not be delayed any longer.

To reunify the country through a confederal system various channels of dialogue should be vigorously held between the North and South.

National reunification is a nationwide cause which can be achieved only when the will and strength of the entire nation is pooled. Therefore, dialogue for national reunification should be held not only between the persons in authority of the North and South, but also between political parties, between political groups, and between civilians of the North and South.

Of late, Rev Mun Ik-hwan, a conscious, democratic figure of South Korea, and his party visited the northern half of the Republic, cherishing in their hearts the South Korean people's ardent desire for reunification, met the great leader, and had negotiations for reunification with figures of various strata. This was a new righteous, patriotic act which fully accords with these demands of the nation. However, the South Korean rulers are attempting to punish Rev Mun Ik-hwan on charges of violating the notorious "National Security Law," branding his visit to Pyongyang as "political operations" and "a spy incident" plotted by our "espionage agents." Using this as an excuse the South Korean rulers have further strengthened the fascist suppression of the patriotic, democratic forces in South Korea.

The No Tae-u ring has arrested cadre members of the National Democratic Alliance of Korea [Chonminnyon], branding it as an organization benefiting the enemy, simply because it has advocated a masses-led movement for reunification. It has also kicked up a commotion of wholesale arrest of numerous dissident opposition figures, including cadre members of the National Council of University Student Representatives [Chondaehyop] and labor unions. The No Tae-u ring is also perpetrating the brutal suppression of students' peaceful rallies and religious persons' religious functions with bayonets, while branding all patriotic, democratic forces as "leftist-leaning, violent forces."

This is an antinational, criminal act designed to obliterate the reunification forces in South Korea, using Rev Mun Ik-hwan's visit to Pyongyang as an excuse, to

strengthen the fascist dictatorship, to reject all North-South dialogue, to intensify North-South confrontation, and, thus, to perpetuate the division of the country.

The persons in authority in South Korea should withdraw their assertions that they are "the sole channel for dialogue," which can persuade no one, and guarantee free travel and exchanges between the North and South by opening wide the door for dialogue between the two sides, as promised in their own "7 July Declaration."

In order to reunify the fatherland based on the method of a confederal system, the persons in authority in South Korea should take a correct attitude toward reunification and change their policy.

Although the present South Korean ruling bunch pay lip service to "dialogue" and "reunification," they are, in fact, in pursuit of confrontation and division and wickedly stand in the way of dialogue and reunification.

From the beginning, the No Tae-u ring spread the so-called "theory of 3-stage reunification," a carbon copy of his predecessor dictators' "theory of stages for reunification," and has been advertising it to make the future of reunification appear to be a distant matter. The persons in authority in South Korea, setting up such complicated stages as "stage of coexistence" and "stage of achieving peace," insist on moving toward reunification one step at a time, just like eating food spoon by spoon, and scheme, internally, to idle away the time merely with exchanges and trade between the North and to have, externally, the "two Koreas" recognized as lawful in the international community through "cross contacts" and "cross recognition." This is, from start to finish, an antipeace and antireunification scheme.

Even going so far as to view the reunification question as nothing more than a matter of setting up a single system on a national scope, the persons in authority in South Korea are now suppressing the South Korean patriotic forces that aspire for reunification based on a confederal system, while babbling about "defense of the system" and "reunification under the liberal democratic system," and are attempting to force their own "system" on the northern half of the Republic. Proceeding from this, the persons in authority in South Korea, paying lip service to the concept of "a national community" and vowing to "make public realities in the North," are not only openly suppressing the South Korean people who want to know about the realities in the North and confiscating a massive number of books published to spread the North's publications, but also are arresting all of those involved in the publication. This shows that the remarks

of the persons in authority in South Korea about "dialogue" and "reunification" are nothing but lies and a camouflage designed to hide their true colors as splittists.

The confrontation over national reunification is not merely a confrontation between the North and South, between the two regions, or between the ideologies and systems, but a confrontation between reunification and splittist lines, between peace and war lines, and between the patriotic and traitorous lines.

If the persons in authority in South Korea genuinely want dialogue and reunification, they should, first of all, adopt a correct attitude toward and take a correct stand on dialogue and reunification and advance along the path leading to the independent reunification through collaboration with communism, instead of trying to fabricate "two Koreas" through anticommunist confrontation.

Also, the persons in authority in South Korea should not devote themselves to fascism, war, and traitorous acts, or to suppressing the South Korean patriotic and democratic forces and reunification forces, nor should they stop them from participating in the debates on reunification and in North-South dialogue.

We will continue our strong struggle to check and frustrate the maneuvers of the splittists within and without for fabricating "two Koreas" and to achieve the cause of reunification based on the method of a confederal system.

All the political forces in the North and South and abroad that aspire for reunification should more vigorously stage a nationwide struggle to smash the maneuvers of the splittists within and without to perpetuate the division under the patriotic ideals of peace and reunification and realize national reunification based on the method of a confederal system.

Footnotes

1. "Let Us Accomplish the Socialist and Communist Cause by Upholding the Revolutionary Banner of Chuche," p 25.
2. Booklet, "New Year Address," 1989, p 11-12.

The Current South Korean 'Regime' Is a Completely Submissive and Anti-Popular Fascist Military 'Regime'

00000000 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 85-90

[So Chi-yol; article not translated]

**Creating an Independent New World Is an
Honorable Mission Which Youths and Students
Should Fulfill for the Era and History**

*00000000 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean
No 7, Jul 89 pp 91-96*

[Kim Chang-yong; article not translated]

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